

THE

MONTH

NOVEMBER, 1869.



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EPIDEMICS.

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Facts as to Foreign Education.

ABOUT a year and a half ago we drew attention to the conclusions concerning the "common school" system of the United States of America, which were to be drawn from the very interesting Report of the Rev. J. Fraser, sent by the Government of this country as Assistant Commissioner to make inquiries on the spot as to the working and the prospects of that system (MONTH, vol. viii., p. 262. "School Systems in America"). The result of Mr. Fraser's experience in the United States and Canada was not favourable to the American system, which he found to be losing ground as time went on. It is worth while, now that we are on the eve of an Educational battle, to compare the conclusions arrived at by Mr. Fraser in America with those formed by his brother Commissioners in other countries of the civilised world. As it happens, we find the work almost done to our hands in a modest pamphlet of some sixty pages,* on which we shall largely draw in the course of the remarks which we are about to make. It must be remembered, that it is very generally the case that the evidence collected by a Royal Commission is of value at least equal to, if not greater, than the recommendations and Report of the Commissioners themselves. Some people have said, that these recommendations are seldom attended to; but we should measure the usefulness of these Commissions by a false standard were we to consider the question of their success or failure simply by the legislative issue which is at last produced. The importance of these Commissions, when well conducted, lies in the facts that they elicit, which are often collected by men of great ability and very lucidly summarised in the Blue Books which contain their Reports. It may

* *Popular Education at Home and Abroad.* Burns and Oates. 1869.

be wise or unwise for the Legislature to depart from the recommendations made by a Royal Commission, especially when that Commission has been to a great extent unanimous; it must always be foolish to neglect the verdict of facts accumulated with the greatest industry, sifted, compared, and arranged clearly and cogently.

And yet, unless we are mistaken, this is just what Parliament will be asked to do by the men who are determined, if they can, to do away with the present denominational system of education in England, and substitute for it a "common," "mixed," or exclusively secular education, which, again, they hope to make compulsory. We have lately observed that the questions of mixed or secular, and of compulsory, education are distinct, and that there is no necessary connection between them. Still, it must be remembered, that the character of the education to which parents are to be forced to submit their children will have a most important influence on the view which we may be inclined to take on the other question of compulsion. It may be tolerable to see parents forced to send their children to school, when the teaching of that school lays no burthen upon the conscience and is favourable to the faith of the parents. It would be an intolerable tyranny, suggestive of the immediate approach of Antichrist himself, if Christian and Catholic parents were forced by law to send their children and the children of the Church to schools in which their own religion was proscribed, and a "mixed" religion taught.

We have said that the measure on which the enemies of religious education in this country are intent would imply a foolish neglect of the experience of other countries, as collected by the Assistant Commissioners. The pamphlet now before us contains extracts from the Reports of these gentlemen relating to the state of Education in Germany, America, Holland, Switzerland, and France. We may leave out America, as having already spoken of the Report of Mr. Fraser. Let us see what his colleagues tell us with regard to other countries. In Germany it would seem certain that there is a decided return to "denominationalism." Such a return may be either formal

or informal : that is, it may consist either in an alteration of the theory, or in a more or less partial and tolerated restoration in practice of the denominational character of the schools. Such, for certain, has been to some extent the case in Ireland, where the National Schools are in many places practically denominational, with the vexatious qualification of certain hindrances to religious teaching. In Germany, Mr. Pattison tells us, there is a great reaction in favour of religious education. "We find," he says, "that the very foremost feature in the educational condition of Germany at this moment is a revival of the influence of the Church and its claims to educate the people" (p. 15).* He gives the following account of the manner in which an anti-denominational system in Silesia has been practically set aside. The school regulation for Silesia, made in May, 1801, ordered that—

"In parishes of mixed population the schoolmaster shall instruct all children, without distinction of religion, in reading, writing, and all other branches which do not pertain to religion. The books used for reading out of shall be such as contain nothing of the distinctive doctrines of either confession. All the children must attend the common prayer or hymn usual before or after school, but neither must contain anything one-sided or belonging to religious party. The master gives religious instruction only to children of his own faith. The children of the other party remain away on the days or hours set apart for this purpose, and are to receive their religious teaching from the clergyman of their own persuasions." According to this edict, a number of the Silesian schools would be treated as mixed schools ; and any school was liable to become a mixed school when children of the opposite faith were sent for admission. But in practice the intention of the law was wholly defeated. The Catholic clergy, who act with an independence of the civil power which the Evangelical Church cannot attain to, treated both the regulation of 1801 and the paragraph above cited from the code of 1794 as a dead letter. They no longer opposed the attendance of Protestant children, but obliged them to participate in all the religious lessons and services with the Catholic children. At most they were excused attendance at Mass on those days on which the school attended in a body. The Evangelical schools dealt more leniently with their Catholic scholars, excusing them from getting by rote the catechism and church hymns, but

* Our references, for the sake of convenience, are to the pamphlet above-named.

making them take their place in the Bible class. These things were done in spite of repeated admonitions from the central authority. Every now and then some maladroit attempt at proselytism attracted the attention of the Government and the public, and a rebuke or the removal of the offender was the consequence ; but the system went on. The silent influences, which could not be made matter of complaint or petition, were more deadly than overt attempts on the faith of the children. It was not the master but the school, not the lessons, but *the opinion of the majority of its schoolfellows, which exerts the insensible sway over the child's mind.* The law, even had it been strictly enforced, was powerless to control these forces ; but it lay in the nature of the case that it could not be enforced ; the division of the school-day, which would have been required in order to keep religious instruction apart from the other lessons, was not possible in the country where the children came from great distances. As early as 1822, therefore, we find that *mixed schools were expressly recognised by the Government to have failed*, and were only to be continued exceptioally in such localities as could not maintain a confessional school. This rescript is the more remarkable as coming from Von Altenstein, a minister whose views on popular education are above suspicion of sectarian bias. "Experience has shown that in simultaneous schools the chief matter of education, viz., religion, is not sufficiently cared for, and it lies in the nature of the case that it cannot be. The intention of these schools, to wit, the promotion of tolerant feelings between the members of different communions, is seldom or never attained. Disagreements between teachers of the two confessions in the same school, or between the master and the parents of the opposite confession, have often involved the whole *commune* in religious dissension ; to say nothing of the other evils inseparable from mixed schools. Such establishments can therefore no longer be regarded as the rule. Exceptions may still be allowed, either in cases of obvious necessity, or when such a coalition is the free choice of the two congregations, acting under the advice of their respective clergy, and with the approval of the temporal and spiritual authorities."—Cabinet rescript of 27th April, 1822 (pp. 17—19).

Speaking of a later period, he tells us—

The time which has elapsed since 1848 appears to have wrought a general conviction among all practical men, that the denominational school is the only school that is at present possible in Germany. Secular education may be argued for here and there, as a theory, but simultaneous schools on the Massachusetts plan is not now the aim of any educational party.

Were the question asked, Is the Prussian system at the present moment a system of mixed or denominational education?—the

answer must be, that there is no general law for the whole kingdom on the subject. According to the letter of the law any *commune* is free to have a mixed school, if it can agree to do so, and can obtain the consent of the authorities; but so strong is now the feeling against mixed schools that it is scarcely likely that this consent would ever be asked, or, were it asked, would be granted. By a mixed school (*Simultanschule*) is meant one in which the teachers are taken in equal proportion from the two religions. In a village school, where there is only one master, the method was to appoint a Protestant and a Catholic alternately, on the vacancy of the office, an expedient which, at one time not uncommon in Posen and East Prussia, has ceased since 1856. The strictly secular school was introduced into the western provinces with the French law, as a necessary portion of the municipal system of that law, in which the *commune* is a purely civil division; but though the Code Napoleon is still retained, a cherished possession, by the inhabitants of the left bank of the Rhine, the schools have almost all become confessional schools, and this without any legislative enactment, but by the mere current of circumstances. This *commune* still remains a civil corporation, with the obligation of building and maintaining both church and school for the inhabitants within its boundaries; but the preference of confessional schools is now so decided that Protestants and Catholics have invariably separate schools. In a parish where the Protestants are in a minority, for example, they will build and endow their own school, and then oblige the *commune* to pay for it, and to contribute to the master's salary. They retain the right, all this while, to send their children into the original, or Catholic, school, as it is then called; for the school, though legally common, has become in fact Catholic by the secession of the Protestants. A Protestant family in the neighbourhood of Mörs (Dep. Dusseldorf) having exercised the privilege of sending their children to such a school, in consequence of the great distance of the nearest Protestant school, when the time of examination came, the Catholic *Dekan* (inspector) held the examination as usual, without sending notice to the Protestant pastor, treating the school as a Catholic school. The pastor made a complaint to the departmental government, and the *Dekan* was reprimanded, these original schools being the property of the *commune*, and therefore equally open to both confessions. But when a congregation builds a school for itself it may oblige the *commune* to take it and to pay for it, but it may stipulate that it shall remain confessional, and such a school is not open to any other confession. In poor and remote villages a few mixed schools may still remain in the Rhine provinces, but they are only kept so by the poverty of the people, and are yearly disappearing before the advance of wealth and population.

Our readers may remember that Mr. Fraser seemed inclined to anticipate as probable the ultimate abandon-

ment of the common school system even in America. We have quoted without scruple the instances adduced by Mr. Pattison, which happen to be those in which the Catholic majority has drawn the teaching of the school to itself against the legal rights of the Protestant minority. We are convinced that the case will be the same with every majority of whatever denomination. In England, of course, the sufferers will be the Catholics. But our legislators ought to learn from the experience of other countries that a mixed school is from the nature of the case a hardship on the minority, and that Acts of Parliament will no more be successful in restraining the natural course of things in this respect than they have been successful in forcing people to consume their own smoke, or cabmen to carry lamps at night. There is, moreover, the other great difficulty, also mentioned in the evidence collected in this pamphlet, that it is not possible, in reality, to exclude religious influences by the prohibition of religious teaching. The Commissioners themselves say in their report :—

The plan of drawing a line between religious and secular instruction, and confining the religious instruction to particular hours, would, we believe, be equally unlikely to succeed. The principal promoters of education maintain that such a line cannot be drawn, and that every subject which is not merely mechanical, such as writing and working sums, but is connected with the feelings and conduct of mankind, may and ought to be made the occasion of giving religious instruction. They maintain that the religious influence of the school depends no less upon the personal character and example of the teacher, on the manner in which he administers discipline, upon the various opportunities which he takes for enforcing religious truth, and on the spirit in which he treats his pupils and teaches them to treat each other, than upon the distinctive religious teaching (pp. 6, 7).

The witness of Holland points to the same conclusion as that of Germany, though in a different manner. The experience of Holland has proved conclusively, that a "common" instruction, such as would "train its recipients in the exercise of all social and Christian virtues" (these are the words of the law of 1801), without reference to dogma, means religious instruction of all in the religion

of the majority. The law of 1801 insisted on this "neutral instruction," and the Protestants were well satisfied with it, because it was, in effect, Protestant. But—says Mr. Arnold—

In 1848, all religious denominations in Holland were placed by law on a perfect equality. Protestantism lost its exclusive predominance. What was the first step taken by the Catholics in the assertion of their equal rights? It was to claim an exact and literal observance of the law of 1806. "The word *Christian* in the law of 1806," said the Catholics, "had become in practice merely another for *Protestant*; if possible, banish the word Christian altogether, for of that word in a neutral school partisans are sure to take sectarian advantage; but even if the word remains, the law clearly proscribes all dogmatic teaching, clearly limits the Christianity to be taught to morality only! execute the law, forbid the teacher to give any dogmatic religious instruction whatever; banish from the school the Bible, which contains dogma as well as moral precepts." The law was clearly on the side of the Catholics, and they succeeded in having it strictly put in force. . . But, even though formulaires be excluded, it is hard not to impress a Protestant or Catholic stamp on the religious instruction of a school, if a school admits any religious instruction at all (p. 27).

The new law of 1857 to some extent corrected the evil, but the Catholic demands were not granted. The present state of things is one of dissatisfaction. Mr. Arnold tells us—

The able and experienced inspector who conducted me round the schools of Utrecht, M. van Hoijtema, in pointing out to me a private elementary school, remarked that such schools had a much greater importance in Holland now than a few years ago. I asked him the reason of this; he replied that in the large towns, at any rate, there was an increasing dissatisfaction with the inadequate religious instruction of the public schools, and increasing demand for schools where a real definite instruction was given. He added that this was a grave state of things; that in his opinion it was very undesirable that the schools of the State, with their superior means of efficiency, should not retain the education of the people; that Government would probably be driven to do something in order to try to remove the present objections to them (p. 29).

By way of a specimen piece of tyranny, something which may give us a hint as to what we might expect if certain *doctrinaire* Illiberals were to get into power among us, let us quote the same gentleman's account of the

educational law imposed on the Canton of Fribourg after the defeat of the Sonderbond :—

The new Government, knowing its adversaries' strength, procured its own nomination for a period of nine years, and, in order to indoctrinate the population with liberal ideas, instituted, by the law of 1848, a very developed system of primary instruction. But nine years of Radical Government, and the law of 1848, were insufficient to convert the stiff-necked people of Fribourg. At the first elections of 1856, the clerical party regained its ascendancy, the democratic party fell, and the democratic law of 1848 fell with its authors, instead of saving them. When you are informed of its provisions you will not, I think, be much surprised at its fate. It provided (in the country of the Pere Girard !) that no religious society, under any denomination whatever, should henceforth be allowed to teach. It provided that, for the future, persons educated by the Jesuits, or by any of the Orders affiliated to the Jesuits, should be incapable of holding any office in Church or State. It proclaimed the object of primary schools to be "the development of man's moral and intellectual faculties in conformity with the principles of Christianity and democracy." It imposed a political oath on the schoolmaster. It made instruction obligatory and gratuitous. Lest the rising generation should escape it, it directed, first, that no child living in the canton should, under any circumstances whatever, be educated at home. Next, that if it was proposed to educate a child in a private school, the parent must first submit the name of the private school to the inspector and to the Communal School Committee for their approval. If this was obtained, the pupil was still bound to attend the public half-yearly examinations of the Communal School. If he failed to attend, or if he attended and passed a bad examination, the private school which educated him was to be closed. Finally, the resources of the religious, charitable, and grammar school foundations of communes were henceforth to be made available for the support of primary schools. This I call the very fanaticism of meddling. But at the same time, the law instituted an undoubtedly good programme of school instruction. The reaction swept away both the noxious meddling and the sound programme. By an order, dated 12th January, 1858, the new Council of State restored foundations to their original uses, relaxed the obligation of attendance at the public schools, made the clergyman a necessary member of the local school committee, freed the teacher from the necessity of taking out an oath, raised his salary, and reduced the programme of primary instruction. *Reaction and Obscurantism!* cry the liberals. Alas, that reaction and obscurantism should sometimes speak the language of moderation and liberty, and that they should invariably cease to speak it at the moment they have the power to use, like their adversaries, that of exaggeration and tyranny ! (p. 37).

Who can for a moment affirm, that the aim of these Illiberals was in reality to give the people a good education irrespective of religion? Their aim was clearly that which we believe to be the real aim of their brethren among ourselves, who are clamouring for a secular system of education from which all ministers of all religions are to be excluded. Their aim was to deprive the children of the religion of their fathers, and substitute for it a new "Christianity" of their own. And we are convinced that the fire of their zeal in the cause of education would burn very low indeed, if it were not for the stimulating blast of their hatred against definite and dogmatic Christianity. They do not want so much to see the children of the poor educated, as to prevent them from receiving a religious education.

Hoc Ithacus velit, et magni mercentur Atridae.

The pamphlet from which we have already quoted so largely contains some interesting quotations on two other very important points, which will no doubt be largely discussed whenever the attention of Parliament is called to the general question—the proposal to support schools by local rates, and the suggested measure of "compulsory" education. With regard to the former of these two points, we find a strong opinion prevalent against the proposal. Local rates must be managed by local boards; and though at first sight there is so much to be said in favour of interesting people on the spot in popular education, we have too much fatal experience of the stinginess, the bigotry, the petty tyranny of local boards, elected by ratepayers, to make the proposal of such management at all palatable. If the education of our children is to be handed over to the same tender mercies which preside over the administration of the relief of the poor, or again, of local prisons, we have every reason to expect the most deplorable fate for the unfortunate victims of our legal philanthropy. Moreover, in a Protestant country, the lot of the children of the minority as to their religious instruction would be analogous to that of the Catholic inmates of the Westminster House of Correction. Local

boards can hardly be expected to be less bigoted than Middlesex magistrates, and they certainly cannot be more so. But the objections to the proposed system which are urged by the Commissioners and the witnesses called by them are not rested, of course, upon the suffering which might ensue to a Catholic minority, but on broad and obvious considerations of experience. Speaking simply as Englishmen desirous of seeing the education of the poor of all denominations carried to as high a pitch of perfection as possible, we can conceive nothing more fatal to the prospect of such a consummation than the adoption of a plan which shall hand over the regulation of the school and the expenditure of the funds for its support to the small farmers, the shopkeepers, and the petty busy-bodies who come to the surface in vestry-meetings and assemblies of the same kind. If anything is simple obscurantism, this certainly is.

Again, as to compulsory education, this seems clearly enough never to succeed except under very peculiar circumstances, when the whole nation cares for education, and in such cases it is not wanted. This is the case in Prussia, and it would seem, nowhere else. The Prussian schools would be as crowded as they are without the law. With the evidence of this Commission before them, we defy our sanguine reformers to point to a single country where a law of compulsory education, *vi sua*, secures the attendance of the children. Wherever it has been introduced it has first been largely mitigated by exceptions, and then the requirements of attendance have been cut down. In one Canton in Switzerland the school year lasts for nine months only, in another for only five. As Mr. Arnold tells us, in another "the obligation was perfectly illusory;" the making education compulsory "had not added one iota to its prosperity." "I was told," says the same gentleman, "that it was necessary to execute the law with the greatest tact and forbearance, but in plain truth I could not discover that it was really executed at all" (p. 47). Thus, where compulsion is required, because other motives will not avail to secure the attendance of the children, there it either fails altogether

or can only be applied to a degree extremely partial. It must require a very vigilant and inquisitorial police to force poor parents to send their children to school, and the moment that the imposed obligation goes beyond the moral obligation of the parent—as must frequently be the case when there is urgent need of the child's labour—then such a law becomes tyrannical and unjust. Yet it would seem that the adjustment of such a law to each particular case must be a matter of the greatest difficulty. On the whole, we are not inclined to hope for much from the plans now suggested, if they go at all further than the prohibition of infant labour up to a certain age; and, as we have already said, whatever friendliness we are inclined to offer to the well-meaning advocates of such measures, is at once turned into the most determined hostility by their proclaimed resolution to make the schools at which attendance is to be enforced what they euphoniously call "unsectarian." The conclusion that forces itself on the mind of a careful student of the facts of the case must be, that much as it is the duty of the State to insist and facilitate education, and great as are the advantages which are to be gained when it discharges this duty adequately, there is still perhaps more to be feared from an excess of interference than even from apathy and neglect. This would be true even if a thoroughly fair system of denominational education were permanently established. We sincerely trust that in England, at least, we are safe from a change; but our adversaries are intensely active, and if they once succeed in their plans for mixed or simply secular schools, any measure which enforces attendance on these by legal enactments ought to be resisted by Catholics with as much resolution and tenacity as if it were an Act of Parliament ordering them to throw all their children into the fire as soon as they are born.

The Propagation and Prevention of Epidemics.

It is happily most unusual in modern times for epidemic diseases to rise to the importance of great natural tragedies, but, while these need the pen of a Thucydides, or a Defoe, to awaken the interest of the general reader, there are other reasons why at the present day all educated persons should give some attention to the subject. As long as the fatalist view prevailed, which was embodied in the maxim of the illustrious Sydenham, that God is the author of acute diseases, and we ourselves of chronic ones, men might be well excused for turning aside from so terrible an object, from which their only escape was flight. But science has so far justified the existence of these scourges of our race, as to prove that most of them originate in a violation of the primary laws of health, and that they might be greatly mitigated, if not entirely suppressed, by a very moderate amount of care.

We can better realise what a gain this would be, if we consider that the two common forms of continued fever alone—eminently preventible diseases—destroy, on an average, in London every year 2,500 lives, which are as needlessly sacrificed as if the victims had been wantonly hanged, or slain in the prosecution of some useless war. If once such facts are apprehended, every one will see that it is his duty to acquire some general knowledge of the subject, both for his own personal guidance, and, still more, in order to form a correct public opinion, to which only we can look for any improvement.

The first impetus to the study of contagious diseases in recent times was given by the invasion of Europe by cholera. It was commonly felt by physicians that the current theories of contagion were refuted by the progress and nature of that terrible disease, and a period of considerable hesitation and uncertainty ended in philosophical attempts to explain the spread and disappearance of epidemic diseases. About the same time, also, the line of criticism adopted by the French opponents of Broussais' system of medicine led them to prove that each of the acute contagious diseases, when carefully examined, was seen to be produced by the action of a special poison.

Taking together these principal points to be explained—on the one hand, the existence of a special poison, and on the other, its rapid diffusion from a limited centre, and its final diminution or extinction—the only evident analogy in the rest of nature appeared to be the process of fermentation. One example will probably show this similarity. A very small quantity of yeast will continue to increase without limit, as long as it is supplied with sugar which it can convert into alcohol and carbonic acid, and only ceases to exist when no more sugar is supplied. In like manner, small-pox or scarlet fever is observed (under favourable circumstances, as in some isolated community) to attack every individual not protected, to increase indefinitely the contagious principle, and to die out only when all those susceptible of the disease have gone through it. There is likewise a parallel to the existence of a separate kind of poison for each disease in the various ferments which are known to exist, one of which produces only alcohol, another vinegar, another butyric acid, and so forth.*

Nothing further was done to explain the intricate nature of the process, until M. Pasteur published his researches. Until that time, the changes produced by fermentation were looked upon, according to Liebig's theory, as owing to a movement propagated from the decomposing ferment to the body to be fermented. M. Pasteur first proved (what the French school of chemistry had long suspected) that fermentation was invariably accompanied by the growth and multiplication of microscopically-small living beings, which are different in kind in each variety of fermentation, all being "mycoderms," or moulds, with the exception of one, which is an infusorial animalcule. M. Pasteur teaches further, and most chemists follow him in this, that the spores or seeds of the ferment, falling into a suitable fluid, immediately begin to grow, and decompose the substance to be fermented by taking from it the oxygen which it requires for its own development. Fermentation, according to this view, is a particular instance of the general law according to which living bodies break up dead organised matter into simpler combinations.

This theory gave a new impulse to the microscopical examination of the various products of different contagious diseases, but as yet we have been destined to a series of disappointments. It has been repeatedly announced that the specific fungus, or animalcule, of this or that disease has been discovered, and further examination has always shown, either that it was no

* The adjective "zymotic," applied, in the Registrar-General's returns and elsewhere, to all this class of disease, originated in this theory.

morbid product at all, or that it was common to many different diseases. One case, however, is sufficiently suggestive to deserve further notice. Professor Hallier has discovered in the excreta of cholera a peculiar fungus, which he cannot find in any of the other "moulds" of Germany. It belongs to a variety of fungi, all of which come from Asia, and are parasites upon one or other of the cereals, like our smut in wheat, or ergot of rye; and he finds that this particular fungus attacks rice, and rapidly destroys it. He infers, therefore, that it is Indian in its origin, and believes it to be the cause of cholera. Putting microscopical evidence aside, there is curious evidence of another kind to connect a contagious disease with the existence of mouldy vegetable matter. In one case, in America, the fungus formed upon wheat-straw has been seen to produce true measles; and a similar instance has occurred in Dublin, where the same disease was produced by mouldy linseed meal. It may be right to mention, that this theory of the organic nature of contagious diseases is not the only one held at the present day. Dr. Richardson in England, and M. Robin in France—two eminent authorities—compare the phenomena of contagion, not to fermentation, but to the cases, well known to chemists under the name "catalysis," where one substance appears to change another by its mere presence. It is here sufficient to remark that the very nature of catalysis is very imperfectly understood, and that the analogy between it and contagion breaks down at this point, that the active agent in catalysis does not increase in quantity during the process, while the active principle in contagion multiplies with marvellous rapidity.

Let us pass from the region of speculation to that of fact. What has been discovered by modern research as to the physical condition of the active contagious principle? There are strong anterior probabilities that it is in all cases solid; for, if it were a gas, it would follow the usual law of gases, and become equally diffused through all the surrounding atmosphere; while a liquid would be much more notably effected by changes of temperature, and by wind. Observation and experiment, as far as they go, depose in the same direction. The progress of contagious diseases, from bed to bed, in a hospital ward, seems to show the solidity of the infectious principle, and some experiments, very carefully performed last year in Paris by M. Chauveau, prove that in the inoculable diseases the solid part of the secretion only contains the poison.

The ways in which the various animal poisons enter the body

are different in different diseases. Some are "inoculated," that is, introduced into the blood by a wound, as, for instance, small-pox, cow-pox, erysipelas, and glanders; others appear to be always inhaled, and absorbed into the body from the lungs—these are typhus, measles, and scarlet fever; while others are swallowed in food or drink, and so produce their effects—such are yellow fever, enteric or typhoid fever, and cholera. Some important practical results might follow from these general rules, the proofs for which we have not space to detail.

The inoculable diseases are to be guarded against by preserving the surface of the body from contact with the poison; the most striking examples of this are, the remarkable exemption from the plague of persons who handle fat or oil in their trade, and the danger of even a slight wound in a hospital where erysipelas is epidemic.

The inhaled poisons are far more difficult to be avoided. Fortunately, an attack protects very decidedly against a repetition of the disease, and free ventilation very much diminishes the danger, both by mechanical dilution and removal of the poison, and also by its decomposition by the oxygen of the air. Beyond this we know of little that can be done, but, in regard of scarlet fever, Dr. W. Budd has recently made a very valuable suggestion. As there is strong reason to believe that the infection of scarlet fever resides mainly in the minute particles of the skin, which comes off in flakes towards the close of the fever, he proposes to keep the body constantly oiled and frequently bathed, as soon as this process of "scaling" begins.

The poisons which are taken in food and drink are (omitting yellow fever) cholera and enteric (or typhoid) fever. It might be thought that nothing could be easier than to prevent such a way of contracting disease, but unfortunately this is not the case at present. The remedy is, however, in our own hands, and the importance of the object to be attained induces us to insist on some unpleasant details, which we would gladly have spared our readers.

Enteric fever (generally confounded by the public with typhus under the name of "fever"), is essentially produced by drinking water contaminated with sewage.* The bad drainage, and even

* The medical reader (if such there be), will observe that we leave out of account two questions, of great importance in themselves—viz., the possibility of a "de novo" origin of the disease, and the effect of sewer *gases* in its production. They are omitted because they do not touch the main argument, and would occupy considerable space.

worse water supply, of most of our smaller towns and villages, are the causes of the prevalence of this very fatal disease in places which might seem most healthy to a superficial observer. Probably, too, even in most of the cases where the disease is caught from another person, impurity of water supply and bad drainage are necessary conditions of its development.

Cholera is a still more remarkable instance of the need of sanitary reform. Since the time of Dr. Snow, who first proved a distinct connection between the water supply and outbreaks of this terrible epidemic, a great mass of evidence has been collected, which seems to prove, almost to demonstration, that cholera poison is usually harmless as it leaves the body; that, if it is diluted with perfectly pure water, it remains quite inert, until its speedy decomposition entirely destroys it, but that when added to water containing any organic impurity (especially sewage) it rapidly develops its destructive qualities. These facts can readily be accounted for on the ordinary fermentation theory, and their practical value is equally obvious—the moral to be drawn being that if public opinion can be so far improved as to adopt everywhere good water supply and good drainage, these two diseases may most probably be entirely eradicated. Mr. Simon and Sir W. Jenner suggest that the zeal of local authorities might be admirably quickened by giving to all who have suffered, in their own person or those of their relations, power to recover damages from those whose neglect has been the cause of illness or death.

Meanwhile, the only things which individuals can do are, to be very careful never to drink suspected water which has not been boiled, and to look to the drains and cisterns of their own houses.

There are two other sanitary measures, which, if carried out by the concerted action of the community at large, would altogether remove the causes of two seriously frequent and fatal diseases. If overcrowding in the rooms of our poor were systematically prevented, there is very little reason to doubt that typhus fever—the scourge of our crowded cities, and especially of those where Irish congregate—would become a very rare disease. Or, again, if great distress, and what may be called chronic starvation, were unknown, the relapsing, or famine fever, would speedily disappear from Ireland, Germany, and Russia.

But let us suppose that an individual has already, in any one of these ways, been attacked by a contagious disease. What means are to be taken to prevent its diffusion? It has been very well remarked that “just in the same manner as we should treat a

savage animal we ought to treat an organic disease—we must either cage it, or destroy it." That is, we may either prevent any further organic change in the infectious principle, and so render it inert, or we may decompose it altogether.

The first of these is effected by means of *antiseptics*, of which the chief is carbolic acid, a substance which has been largely used of late years in this country. The *destructive disinfectants* are far more numerous, and, on the whole, more generally useful. The chief and most powerful is oxygen, either in the shape of abundant fresh air, or as contained in the well-known "Condy's fluid;" next to this comes chlorine, a most powerful agent, which is generally obtained from chloride of lime; and then iodine, which may be allowed slowly to evaporate in the sick room. There are still great differences of opinion as to the relative merits of these various substances; probably, carbolic acid is most useful for the immediate disinfection of excreta, Condy's fluid for washing the hands after touching the patient, and chlorine or iodine for purifying the air.

The clothes of patients suffering from such diseases are often put at once into hot water, whereby the infectious principle is more certainly spread than if they had been washed in the usual manner. They should always be put at once into cold water; after a time the water should be drained off, and they should then be plunged into *quite boiling* water, and kept there for half an hour. Chloride of lime may be added with advantage to the first water. We have not mentioned chloride of zinc and sulphate of iron among the disinfectants, because we believe they probably destroy only one of the inorganic substances present, which has no necessary connection with the real cause of disease.

The principal means of resistance to the infection of all these diseases appears to be a healthy and vigorous state of the nervous system. Thus, the public are perfectly aware of the evil influence of fear or agitation as predisposing causes, and even exaggerate their importance so far as to be afraid of the fear of cholera. Probably the immunity of doctors and nurses from most of these diseases is in part owing to the confidence produced by habit; and the remarkable manner in which some epidemics (especially diphtheria) attack particular families, is perhaps due to some original weakness of the nervous system. An important practical corollary may be drawn from this general principle. Experience has abundantly shown that typhus fever is seldom acquired when the body is in its usual state of vigour, hence it should be an

universal rule never to visit a fever patient, if it can be avoided, when fasting or much fatigued.

As to the mode in which contagious diseases are now treated, little can be said which would profit the general reader. As all diseases of this kind are now known to run a certain definite course, the physician does not attempt to check what is inevitable ; he confines himself to treating symptoms as they arise and keeping up the strength of his patient, matters which have an easy sound in theory, but which, in practice, often tax to the full all the powers of an educated and discriminating judgment.

Lines to a Faithful Friend.

YES, my warm friend, the myrtle braid
May twine upon frail pleasure's head,
And laugh at you and me ;
While affluence trims her waxen lights,
And wanton frolic wastes her nights,
In mirth and festive glee.

Yes, let it laugh—'tis folly's hour ;
If folly loves the blooming flower,
Then let the flowret bloom.
Yes, let it laugh—the morning ray
Will see its blossoms fade away,
And strewn on folly's tomb.

Thou on thy master's head meanwhile
With easy pride shalt sit and smile,
And soothe his lonely hours,
While with his little, cheering ray,
Our glimmering friend shall round you play,
And waken fancy's powers.

What though this morning's golden sun,
Like yesterday's, his course has run,
And hid his beauteous light ;
Though all the varied scenes of joy
That smiled upon my wandering eye,
Are blended with the night.

The night, at least, my easy friend,
With thee and fancy I can spend
In Nature's gardens still !
Still through her checkered valleys rove,
Still wake the warblers of the grove,
And climb the distant hill !

Yes, with my nightcap on my head,
Methinks, I'm in my arbour's shade,
 Stretched on the turf at ease ;
I see the sun with silver beam
Dance in my fountain's crystal stream,
 That tinkles to the breeze.

Though not my crystal streams at dawn,
Or arbour's shade, or sunny lawn,
 Delight my easy mind :
With thee at leisure's peaceful hour
I'll sit and cull from classic lore
 A pleasure more refined.

Then, musing on the laurel crown
That Virgil or that Horace won—
 Perhaps, I've often said,
Perhaps these bards who sung so well
Used in their nightcaps (who can tell ?)
 To court the muses' aid.

Ay, many and many time, I ween,
Our Laureates, could they but be seen,
 Have laid aside their bays,
Have sat like me, whole nights alone,
With nothing but a nightcap on,
 To frame their votive lays.

Blest be the man, who'er he be,
Whose genius first invented thee,
 And called thee by thy name !
For much to him does Morpheus owe,
And much the peaceful muses too,
 Who toil for virtuous fame.

When slumbers close my languid eyes,
'Tis thou that bidd'st my fancy rise
 With all her fairy train ;
For thee she trims her rainbow car,
And mounting on the waving air,
 Begins the magic strain.

In thee my little busy dreams,
That tremble at the morning beams,
 A friendly shelter take ;
There laugh and prattle on, till day
Through my close curtain darts its ray,
 And bids thy master wake.

The Spaniards in the Philippine Islands.

IT is satisfactory to find here and there a protest against the fashionable exaltation of the present, and to come across men who are not so wildly sanguine as to the future that they must necessarily despise the annals of past action. It is at present of the highest usefulness to remind those who have no reverence for the societies that existed before ours, that men have not really changed through the recurring round of inventions, but remain much the same in the presence of the Supreme Judge whether their "civilisations" be illumined by gas or not. Whether their doings be reported by telegraph and the daily press, or engraved in hieroglyphics on granite, the actions of men continue in essentials very similar. It is a favourite delusion of our vanity to suppose that we are of different clay from our forefathers. It betrays itself even in our histories of the past which, especially in England, are written to flatter our unfounded belief, that mankind is steadily nearing perfection, and this, of late years, so rapidly that it needs no counsel from the experience of patriarch or prophet.

In sad truth, we are driven to anticipate by the very miseries of our time, and to support our hopes we must largely discount the future. We struggle after the will-o'-the-wisps of the age with almost pathetic constancy, and half the secret of our disregard of the past is that we dread the light it might throw on our situation. We might not so well bear the ulcers and disgraces of our civilisation if we did not foster the dream of necessary progress, and sedulously convince ourselves that, whatever our troubles, the troubles of former generations were yet greater. And so we ignore the foundations of our society, the faith and law by which Christendom thrrove, and only

search the past to find some new ground for hope that present symptoms of decay in our body politic are but the backwater of a real progress. With desperate energy we cling to that, in the ruin of other faiths; but here and there a sincere student is to be met with, who has the courage not to be of the "public opinion," and who chooses to judge for himself of the records of those men who were the splendid fruit of what we call the inferior ages of Christendom. Their genuine writings are instructively contradictory to much of our popular belief, and we wish that some of the lessons to be learned from them were made more accessible to our lazy readers who will not take the trouble to read any but light literature.

The Hakluyt Society does much by its yearly publication of rare works; and though it only professes to revive those that treat of geographical discovery, the history of European colonisation in America and the Indies comes necessarily within its plan. It has rescued from oblivion, if not destruction, many valuable accounts of the burst of enterprise which altered the old routes of commerce and changed the relations of States at home. The mistakes of the first colonists still hamper our dealings, and help to destroy the races we have tried to civilise. The crimes of which they were too often guilty have been followed by retributions of which we do not foresee any termination. When the great sea-rovers proved themselves just, their virtues are still traceable in the prosperity of the colonies they founded, and, though rarely, the law and faith taught by them have preserved and elevated the natives who came within their influence. Few studies in these times of Maori revolt, Red Indian extermination, and Hindostan famines, might be more profitable than to read contemporary reports of how our first European settlements were established in those countries, where it is now sought to "civilise" by extirpation, to spread the Gospel by improved cartridges, to establish law and order by means that infidel nations would with horror repudiate. "Well, sir," said the representative of Progress to Sir C. W. Dilke, speaking of the Indians, "we can destroy them by the laws of war, or thin 'em out by whisky; but the thinning

process is plaguy slow"—yet very sure. Still quoting Sir C. Dilke, we find that—"In 1840 the British Government assumed the sovereignty of New Zealand in a proclamation which set forth with great precision that it did so for the sole purpose of protecting the aborigines in the possession of their lands. The Maories numbered 200,000 then; they number 20,000 now." Mr. Henry Kingsley, a writer who represents a popular school of "Christian" (?) chivalry, writes in *Macmillan's Magazine* of "the Blacks":—"Now you know these people must go. God never made the Portland Bay district for *them*. All we ask is that the thing should be done with decency." Our readers should, we think, be really grateful for the extracts we shall give them from the writings of men, instructed only in the teaching of the dark and middle ages, but incapable of modern injustice towards their fellow-men.

As the Hakluyt Society's publications are but for subscribers, and the writings they produce are extremely rare, if not unique, we the more readily reproduce for the general public some valuable passages from the last volumes produced by it. That issued last year describes the foundation of the Spanish rule in the Philippine Islands, a rule remarkable, and almost solitary, in its successful treatment of native races. The volume for this year is a translation of the most minute and authentic history that exists of Vasco de Gama's three voyages by the Cape of Good Hope to India, and consequently of the establishment there of the Portuguese empire.

Very notable in the account of the Philippine colonisation are the good results of justice towards the native races, and of respect for their customs when not contrary to morals. The conduct of the Spanish authorities, their success, and the subsequent fate of the colony, contrasts instructively with the story of Portuguese conquest in India, and the gradual extinction of the power which was stained at the outset by the treachery and cruelty of its administrators, though never so flagrantly unjust and domineering as has been much of our modern system. The morals of "public opinion" had not then taken the place of law

in men's dealings. The Hakluyt Society owes much to a translator so faithful and intelligent as Mr. Stanley—now Lord Stanley of Alderley. It was to be anticipated that so accomplished a linguist should have accurately performed the literary part of his work, but he has shown besides a command of English unsophisticated by modern phrases that is rare among our writers. He has rendered technical and antique words with extraordinary care, and yet, especially in his translation of Vasco da Gama's voyages from Correa's *Hendas da India*, he has preserved a vigour not unworthy of those famous sea-rovers, Captain Gulliver and Robinson Crusoe. Evident increase of accuracy is gained by using a style unconfused by newly coined expressions. Mr. Stanley avoids many a popular assumption contained in modern phrases, and keeps his readers in realms of fact by mere use of Queen Anne's English. His introductions and notes are excellent, and his index to the *Philippine Islands* brings into relief the important facts related by the author, De Morga. It is satisfactory to find that at least one Englishman remains undazzled by the fire works of our European world, and can judge fairly of that outer darkness, the limbo of "niggers." He knows better than to join in the insults offered to races from whom, after all, we have inherited better things than the mechanical contrivances of which we are so proud.

We join Mr. Stanley in cordial admiration of the hero and author of the *Philippine Islands*, Antonio de Morga. His influence in establishing the High Court of Justice at Manila, and administering with equal hand the law, has probably largely contributed to the prosperity of the Spanish rule in Manila. Already high in the legal profession, he carried with him, on his appointment as Chief of the Audiencia or High Court of the infant colony, habits of equity and statesman-like respect for the mixed people he was to govern, which were more common in the days even of Pizarro than they are perhaps now.

The group of islands which became known in Europe as the Philippines, were discovered by Miguel Lopez de Legazpi, the captain of an expedition sent out from the

port of Navidad by the Viceroy of Mexico in 1564. Not however till 1571 were they formally appropriated by virtue of the Bull of Alexander VI., which declared the line of demarcation that should separate the Spanish and Portuguese empires in their new discoveries. We are glad to quote Mr. Stanley's remark, that this "and other similar action on the part of the Holy See, show how frequently it acted as peace-maker, arbitrator, and court of appeal." And further on he observes that the "deliberations of the coming Ecumenical Council may do much to recal the rule of law in Europe, and to secure peace amongst men"—anticipations unhappily not common among men who are not in the Church. The Spaniards subjected these islands with scarcely any fighting, and having fortified the strong port of Manila, Legazpi pursued the work of pacification in the surrounding districts, "some submitting themselves willingly, others being conquered by force of arms, or by the industry of the Monks who sowed the holy Gospel, in which each and all laboured valiantly." It had not been yet heard as a condition of progress that "the Church ought to be separated from the State, and the State from the Church;" and we find that during the governorship of Don Gonzalo Ronquillo, which ended in 1580, "the first Bishop of the Philippines was elected, named Don Fray Domingo de Salazar, of the Order of St. Dominic, a person of much learning and sanctity. When he arrived in the islands he took upon himself the ecclesiastical government and jurisdiction, which at first had been exercised by the Augustinian Friars, who arrived at the conquest, and later by the Barefooted Monks of St. Francis, who arrived at the conversion. The Bishop erected his church into a cathedral in the city of Manila by Apostolic Bulls, with prebends paid by the royal exchequer until there should be tithes and ecclesiastical revenues by which to sustain them. He also established what else was necessary for the service and ornament of the church and divine service, which is celebrated there with much solemnity and display. The Bishop took with him in his journey Antonio Sedefio and Alonso Sanchez, Priests and grave persons of the

Company of Jesus, who were the first to establish that Order in the Philippines ; and since that time it has gone on extending itself with much profit and fruit to the teaching and conversion of the natives, and comfort of the Spaniards, and education and teaching of their children in the studies which they follow."

The establishment of justice followed close on the establishment of Christian faith. In 1583 the Audiencia was organised, and its officers provided with ample powers, not only of local justice, but in matters of war and administration, in the control of officials, and in all dealings with foreign States. The expenses seem to have been heavy for the infant colony, and we find that Father Alonzo Sanchez was sent to Spain and to Rome by the High Court itself to ask that it should be abolished and a new Governor sent out. This was done ; but immediately after we hear that "the peace and trade which existed between the Japanese and the Spaniards began to be disturbed," and that even in the first year of the government of Dasmarinas the want of the High Court began to be felt by many, seeing all the power placed in the hands of one person. And he that experienced this most was the Bishop, "who had some encounters with the Governor, and was obliged to set out for Spain although he was very old." The Audiencia was, at his petition, re-established with increased powers, and Dr. Antonio de Morga was appointed to its presidency. In 1595 he entered on his office, and, though he is singularly modest in the mention of his own services, we can see how he leant the whole weight of his authority against piracy and opposed the projects of adventurers, who probably had as many recommendations as any of our Elizabethian heroes whose buccaneering has been condoned. It is interesting to read De Morga's narrative of the events which preceded the crucifixions of Nangasachi, and the negotiations entered into with the Japanese Nero, Taicosama, to obtain the bodies of the martyrs. The instances of the Spanish Government were not successful, but we read that "the bodies of the martyrs, although they were guarded by the Japanese for many days, were

removed by bits (particularly those of the Friars) from the crosses as relics by the Christians of the place ; they with much veneration distributed them, and they are now throughout Christendom, without forgetting the staples and wood of the crosses."

We are not aware that the letter of the saints to De Morga, signed in their name by Fray Martin de la Ascencion, has yet been given to English readers—

To Dr. De Morga, Lieutenant of the Governor of Manila, whom may God preserve in Manila.—Farewell, Doctor, farewell, for our Lord in His mercy, not looking at my sins, has been pleased to unite me to a company of twenty-four servants of God who die for love of Him, of whom six of us are Friars of St. Francis, and eighteen Japanese. With the hope that many more will go by the same way, may your worship receive the last farewell and the last embrace of all this company, for we all acknowledge the favour which you have shown to the affairs of this conversion ; and now in taking leave, we beg you (and I especially) to take up as a business of your own the favouring of the Christian body. As you are a father, and favouring all things which may present themselves for the mission of Monks to this conversion, so may your worship find one to favour you and intercede for you before God in time of need. Farewell, sir ! and give my last adieu to the Lady Doña Juana, whom may God preserve, &c.—From the road to execution, 28th of January, 1597.

This King's appetite has been much increased by what he robbed from the San Filipe, and they say that next year he will go to Luzon, and that he does not go this year, being taken up with the Coreans; and that for this purpose he intends to take the islands of Lequios and Hermosa, to throw people thence into Cagayau, and from thence take Manila, if God does not first put a stop to his advance. Your worship will see to what is necessary and fitting.—FRAY MARTIN DE LA ASCENCION.

De Morga's account of the manners and religion of the Philippine islanders is very complete, and however much matter for regret he found in them, he never speaks of the natives with the insolent contempt of some modern travellers, who certainly are not warranted by the ardour of their own faith to despise the worship even of Dayahs. After recounting the almost complete success of the early Missioners in conversion, he observes: "The customs which these natives observed in their Paganism, in as far as they are not contrary to natural right, they observe since they

have become Christians, especially in their slavery, successions, inheritances, adoptions, wills, and lawful contracts ; and in their lawsuits they always allege and prove the customs, and according to that judgment is given. This is by royal order. And in other causes, where there is no usage, and in criminal matters, the case is decided by law as among the Spaniards." Yet the people treated so fairly were low in the scale of heathenism, and in every way inferior to Maories and other native races with which English relations have been so unfortunate. "In the matter of their religion," writes De Morga, "they proceeded more barbarously and with greater blindness than in all the rest, because, in addition to being Gentiles, and having no knowledge whatever of the true God, neither did they cast about in their minds to discover Him by the way of reason, nor did they fix their thoughts on any." Then, as now, one of their principal objects of worship was the cayman. "They adored and reverenced the caymans whenever they saw them, going upon their knees and raising their hands to them, on account of the injuries which they receive from them, under the idea that by this they would be appeased and would leave them."

In July, 1603, De Morga left Manila to fill the place of Alcalde at the Court of Mexico ; but he gives the details of the panic and revolt of the Chinese settlers, which led to their indiscriminate massacre a few months after he had gone. But however sad is the isolated fact of the conflict between the "Sangleys," or Chinese, and the Spanish troops, the seed was sown during De Morga's eight years' residence of a prosperity that still exists in the Philippines. In reply to much ignorant nonsense written about Spanish rule, we are glad that Mr. Stanley has collected some facts in proof of the sound state of the East Indian islands. For some persons it would be enough to say that in 1867 their revenue exceeded their expenditure by nearly two millions of dollars ; but we are glad to place beside it the fact, that in 1830 it was calculated that out of two millions and a half subjects of Spain, all but a hundred and thirty-two thousand were native Indians. The army of twelve thousand men is

almost entirely native, while thirty thousand are registered as seamen. To account for so satisfactory a condition of the colony, at least in part, we quote from a report of Mr. Consul Farren, resident at Manila for twenty years, and obtained by Mr. Stanley from the Foreign Office—“The most efficient agents of public order throughout the island are the local Clergy, many of whom are also of the country. The laws are mild, and peculiarly favourable to the natives. The people are indolent, temperate, and superstitious. The Government is conciliatory and respectable in its character and appearance, and prudent, but decisive, in the exercise of its power over the people; and united with the Clergy, who are shrewd and tolerant and sincere, and respectable in general conduct, studiously observant of their ecclesiastical duties, and managing with great tact the native character.” Again, in 1851, Mr. Farren writes—“The Philippines were converted to Christianity, and maintained in it by these monastic Orders, who energetically protected them (and at no very past period) against the oppressions of the provincial authorities, and are still a check on them in the interests of the people. The Clergy are receivers in their districts of the capitation tax paid by the natives, and impose it; they are the most economical agency of the Government.” “There are some things in the Spanish colonial system,” writes Mr. Farren, in 1848, “which are not unworthy the attention of Downing Street.” But surely, this must be wrong. Could England learn from Spain? Meantime, we fear Spain has learned too much from England. An old Mexican Viceroy used to say, that “in each Friar in the Philippines the King had got a captain-general and a whole army.” This would hardly now be a compliment to a Philippine Friar. If peace, good government, and prosperity are the legitimate objects of desire for a community, we must suppose that Spanish armies and “captains-general” would be but a poor gift to the Philippine islands in exchange for their despised Friars.

Count von Tilly.

PART THE FIRST.

THE old saying that truth is great and will prevail has been seldom more conspicuously verified than in the case of the man whose career we now propose to pass under review. More than two hundred years have rolled by since this old warrior lived, and during these long years his name has been almost a bye-word for cruelty and religious bigotry. The name of Magdeburg has been engraven on the page of history as the symbol of his shame; while historians of almost every sort have vied with each other in writing opprobrious epitaphs for his tomb. And yet, strange as it may seem, never has history been more at fault, never has the slanderer more cruelly injured the slandered, never has wicked crime been more successful in transferring its black pall from itself to the innocent and virtuous than in the case of Count Tilly. The avenger of Tilly's name has at last arisen within the country that witnessed his exploits, in a man that has sacrificed the prejudices and the traditions of his sect to the claims of truth. Herr Onno Klopp has chosen as the motto of his book the strikingly apposite words of Tacitus—*Ne virtutes sileantur*. Tilly's life has hitherto been regarded as the record of crimes which would be a disgrace to humanity; at least justice imperatively demands that we should judge him by his actions. Of these we can but give an imperfect account: if any would have more we must refer them to the same authority that we have ourselves consulted.

Born in or near Brussels, in February, 1559, Tilly belonged to a good family, whose estate bore the family name and have handed it down to the present day. He was educated at Cologne by the Jesuits, and is said, with truth as far as we can learn, to have entered the Novitiate of the Society of Jesus. Beyond this however he did not go. While still a young man he joined the Spanish army in the Netherlands, and served with distinction under Alexander of Parma. In the war against the apostate Archbishop and Elector of Cologne, Gebhard, he had the command of a regiment, in which position he won the reputation of a brave

and promising soldier. We next find him serving as a volunteer under Parma at the famous seige of Antwerp in 1585. After refusing an advantageous offer from Henry IV. of France, in 1594, to enter that King's service, he is next found serving in the east of Europe, against the then terrible enemies of Christendom. The dominions of the Hapsburgs were from their position most exposed to the fiery assaults of Islam, and were by consequence continually harassed by wars which owed their end merely to the exhaustion of the contending nations. The war in which Tilly served came to a close in 1606, but only to be succeeded by the domestic troubles of the imperial family. The throne was at this time filled by Rudolf II., a Prince devoted to science and learning, but unfitted to the difficult task of quelling the disorders and lawlessness of a factious nobility. When the Reformation broke with the traditions of the past, and cast them aside as worn-out and obsolete, the reverence for civil authority and its rights gradually disappeared, along with the religious principles on which that reverence was founded; and as the idea of the superiority of physical force over moral power gained ground, every one began to guide and control his ambition by the calculation of his own and his neighbour's forces. The Hungarian nobility were clamouring for greater liberty, and Matthias, the Emperor's short-sighted brother, fell into the snare of heading the rebellion of men whom he had hoped to use as instruments in the gratification of his own ambition. In employing them to wrest the sceptre from his brother's hands he committed himself to a course from which he afterwards found it impossible to extricate himself.

In this painful struggle between two brothers, Tilly was the general of Rudolf's scanty troops. He successfully resisted the attempts made upon his loyalty, and foiled the Archduke when the latter was tampering with that of his own officers and soldiers. Enraged that his insidious proposals were baffled, Matthias assailed the honour of the man who had rejected his advances, and in a public writing accused Tilly of allowing his men to commit atrocities on the peaceful inhabitants of Moravia. The answer of Tilly, which shows that he was touched in a tender point, was such that the odious charge disappeared from history. "The writing," says Tilly, "asserts that my soldiers have done great damage on the Moravian frontier by robbery and burning. I cannot remember that any one suffered the slightest harm through robbery, nor has the slightest complaint on that score been made to me by great or little. Had this happened I should have

known how to meet it. As to the burning however, I publicly declare and pledge myself to any one that, if it be proved by undoubted and sufficient evidence that the smallest building has been with my knowledge either burnt or set on fire by my troops, I will answer for it with my head and life, and I am ready with the approbation of the Emperor to appear wherever I may be for that purpose summoned." It appears that some one had the baseness to accuse him of attempting to destroy the nobility. After a direct refutation of the charge, he adds: "I live in the confidence and hope that without any unbecoming pride it may be my good fortune to say that my good name is so widely known that I have been all my life occupied at the expense of life, goods, and blood, in noble actions against the hereditary foe of the Christian name, and not in private murder."

The motives of Matthias and his friends in this attack on Tilly's honour were too evidently those of baffled pride and spite to allow their charges to gain hearing in Germany. But we shall have to return to this question hereafter. Until Rudolf failed himself, by resigning to his brother the sovereignty of Hungary, Tilly served him loyally and truly; but from that event to the opening of the Thirty Years' War in 1618, he retired into private life. The early years of that struggle have been sufficiently described in a previous article. They bore the fitful and irregular character of guerilla combats more than that of sustained operations of war. Unlike the period when the Swedes appeared on the battle-field, the first ten years were passed in desultory explosions, with considerable effect in their aggregate, while the Swedish campaigns resembled the dreadful eruption of a volcano, whose ravages are marked by the wiping out of cities and by desolation and ruin far and wide. Neither in Christian of Halberstadt, nor in Mansfeld, nor in Christian of Denmark, did Tilly find an adversary worthy of his genius. Of the three, the first and the last ran blindfold upon Tilly's sword; the second avoided the fatal errors of the other two by omitting from the plans of his campaigns the shock of legions and the crash of armies. He sought war without an enemy. Under these circumstances it will doubtless appear strange that the war was not crushed out before Gustavus Adolphus had an opportunity of landing in Pomerania. But our wonder ceases when we reflect for a moment on the relative power and position of the combatants. Ferdinand, though the nominal chief of a military empire, was dependant on the Electors and Princes of that empire for the means of asserting his prerogative. The army in the field under Tilly was for the most

part formed of troops enrolled in the name and for the special service of Maximilian of Bavaria. Again, though Wallenstein unfurled the imperial banner and acted as the representative of Ferdinand, he was in reality so far unshackled by superior authority that the fear of seeing his army melt away long deterred Ferdinand from relieving his dangerous subject of his command. In truth, a century before this, the Princes of the empire had learnt the art of drawing the teeth of their imperial master and reducing him to a harmless growl by refusing money and neglecting to furnish their contingents of soldiers. As in England, so also in Germany, the necessities of the sovereign were the opportunities which the subjects in both countries grasped at for lessening his prerogatives and enlarging their own privileges. The jealousy with which the Electoral Princes guarded their once acquired rights must be ranked among the most effective causes of the long continuance of the war. Even Max of Bavaria, despite his great and noble heart, and the three Elector-Bishops of the Rhine, could not escape the contagious nature of this feeling. They had to pass through several years of bloody experience before they were taught that their power could only be preserved by a sincere and devoted union with the head of the empire.

Other causes, however, besides those just mentioned, assisted in no small degree in keeping the plague-spot on the face of the country. A nation which has never been possessed of great wealth and ready resources feels keenly a long drain on its meagre exchequer, and this burthen becomes greatly intensified when no results appear as the reward of their self-denying patriotism. But when to the inconveniences of poverty are added the meannesses of niggardly selfishness, a man who has upon his shoulders the responsibilities of command is paralysed in all action against the enemy from without by the deadening action of his lukewarm friends. It is much to be regretted that this selfishness found place in the counsels of the inferior members of the Catholic German League. The Vienna and Hanoverian archives give us abundant evidence of the difficulties Tilly had to meet in obtaining from those Princes the fixed contributions of men, money, and provisions. Had it not been for Max, who was its heart and soul, and for Ferdinand, whose countenance gave it a sort of lawful existence, the League would have perished before a single Swedish soldier had touched German soil. Justice however requires that it should be stated in extenuation of this conduct that the mercenary system then

prevalent was both burthensome and ineffective. Before an army could be sent into the field it had to be levied, equipped, and paid: there was no foundation on which to build, and in building hastily the structure often fell to pieces by its own unwieldiness. There were generally equal chances—if a skilful general on one or the other side did not turn the scale—of all the expense and anxiety of war resulting in nothing but defeat. Under all these circumstances it must cease to be a matter of wonder that war was entered upon with reluctance, and of disgust that the worth of a man like Tilly was neutralised by transforming him for the time from a general into a commissariat officer.

Asking our readers to bear in mind the delays inevitably arising from the state of things just described, we will now briefly trace the course of events from the appointment of Tilly as General of the troops of the League to the siege of Magdeburg. We have already seen Mansfeld and Christian of Halberstadt in arms against the Emperor. Up to May, 1622, nothing of importance was done: Mansfeld was ever in flight, Tilly ever in pursuit. But in that month Tilly inflicted a signal defeat, at Wimpfen, on the traitorous Margrave of Baden-Durlach, who after the destruction of his army was forced to throw himself into the arms of Mansfeld. But a greater danger arising from the impending union of Mansfeld and Christian threatened Tilly. In order to escape this the General of the League made a feint upon Mansfeld's line of communications with Alsace, and thus left the ground between himself and Halberstadt, who was coming from the north, free from impediment. Out of twenty thousand men whom Christian led into the battle at Höchst, two-thirds were destroyed. Their rash leader, with about six thousand men, fled to Mansfeld, who, as might be gathered from his character, did not commit himself to a battle. We next find these freebooters gaining time by pretending a desire to enter the imperial service. In 1622-3, Mansfeld, relying on the secret support of Holland, invaded East Friesland, whither he was pursued by Tilly. The hostility of the Hague to the empire, which it was at no pains to conceal, was met by forbearance on the side of Ferdinand and indignation on the side of the General of the League. The latter clearly perceived that it was of no use cutting down the weeds as they from time to time arose unless the root itself was dug up and destroyed. Holland served as a refuge and starting-point for the freebooters who were at this time scourging the country. But Tilly's views were overruled, and the consequence was a continuation of the guerilla warfare. After this, in 1626, Christian IV. of

Denmark kindled the flames of a religious strife in North Germany, and by a series of deceptions brought the troops of Lower Saxony under his standard. The battle of Lutzen was fought in the August of that year. Tilly considered the victory he there gained the most decisive he had won. Passing over the period intervening between this battle and the destruction of Magdeburg, which was occupied in taking towns and fortresses in the hands of the enemy, we come to the last eight months of Tilly's life. We need only here mention the battles of Breitenfeld and the Lech, in which Gustavus Adolphus defeated Tilly mainly through the treacherous and base jealousy of Wallenstein. These two points we shall speak of when reviewing that extraordinary man's career. At present we will confine our attention to the different methods of warfare on the part of Tilly and the other leaders, and conclude by an exposition of the cunning by which Gustavus Adolphus effected the destruction of Magdeburg.

Like all the other continental armies of the day, that of Tilly was made up of mercenaries. As birds of prey follow the steps of war, so these men were allured by the enlisting drum in the hope of plunder from victory. Equally ready to serve the Catholic League, the Lutheran Princes, and the Calvinistic Union, they made their choice in accordance with the prospects of the golden harvest offered by any side. Desertion from a cause with which they had no sympathy was a matter neither of disgrace nor of surprise. The interests of self were the most sacred, those of religion the most uncared-for. Attachment to a military chief might have been measured by the facilities and occasions he gave his followers of making profit, and when these occasions failed, or the price of their services was not paid, they melted away like sun-touched snow. The horrors attending the storming of a city cannot be conceived. The demons of plunder, murder and lust reigned unchecked. Neither age nor sex was respected or spared. But when the leaders themselves winked at or, worse, encouraged their troops, the atrocities were ten-fold more terrible. The taming of wild beasts such as these was a task which required the patience and energy of a hero. It was Tilly's duty to undertake it, and his glory to achieve it—Tilly, whom it is the fashion with Protestant writers to point at with the finger of hatred and to execrate as a monster of cruelty. Though he has fallen under the ban of posterity, his truth and honour were rightly appreciated by more grateful contemporaries, and he, whose glory was his own and whose shame was that

of others, has at length been avenged by time, which holds up the mirror to every character. Precarious as was discipline among mercenary troops, Tilly's severity and firmness in checking any infraction of it was such that when in the field theft was punished by death. Though the pay of the soldiers was often in arrears, he never, like Mansfeld and Halberstadt, allowed the deficiency to be supplied by plunder. But burning was the crime to which he showed no mercy. We have already seen* with what courage he quelled a mutiny arising out of some executions for this crime. On another occasion, when in Central Germany, complaints were made that a straggling party had been guilty of setting fire to a village. Tilly in the deepest concern begged the aggrieved persons to come to his camp and point out the offenders, promising the amplest satisfaction. Contrary to the custom of those times, when war was made to support itself, Tilly furnished half the necessary supplies, while the other half was contributed by the country which he happened to be protecting. The contributions thus obtained were fixed as to their amount with the concurrence of the authorities of the place. If his officers levied more than the stipulated sum, the excess was returned by Tilly, and any injury done by his troops was made good by a deduction from the contribution to be made. His duties as a commander did not make him less willing or able to assist the poor and the helpless. A widow had a debt in Goslar which she could not recover; but, as she had heard that Tilly was kind-hearted and ready to support any just cause, she betook herself to him to obtain his assistance. From 1627 to 1630, Tilly occupied East Friesland with his troops. Winckelmann, the biographer of Count Anthony Günther, who had many dealings with Tilly during the latter's occupation of his territory, says of that period: "We sat like roses under thorns, like a fruit-tree in the wild forest. Before our doors was every sort of noble fruit as though in a pleasure garden. This has been done by the Lord, and it is wonderful in our eyes." Another nobleman of the same country, and a Protestant, who was a boy during Tilly's occupation, writing for his family history says: "The truly excellent and steady discipline of Tilly's soldiers secured to every one the free and peaceful possession of his own property. The roads were secure, trade and commerce uninjured. The soldiers were on the most friendly terms with the inhabitants. They went with their landlords to the fields and put their hands to the work."

* See "Our Library Table," MONTH for June, 1868.

In 1622, Tilly was in the Palatinate. This was the scene, if we are to believe men who appear content to copy the slanders of enemies without verification, on which the General of the League showed the ferocious barbarity of his character. Let us see where the iniquity lies, in the acts of Tilly, in the acts of Mansfeld and Christian, in the narratives of Tilly's slanderers, or conjointly in the acts of Mansfeld and Christian and in the narratives of Tilly's slanderers. Our readers have been already introduced to Camerar. He was the chief counsellor of the Elector-Palatine Frederick and followed his fortunes faithfully until his union with Gustavus Adolphus. He was one of the most formidable, as he was one of the most far-seeing and inveterate, enemies of the Emperor Ferdinand and the League. His testimony then cannot be suspected. Frederick's best friends, the inhabitants of the Palatinate, were, as Camerar informs us, full of anxiety, after seeing the horrors perpetrated by Mansfeld in Bohemia, at the prospect of having that hero among them. This was in April, 1621. A few weeks later Camerar complained that his fears had been well founded. "The troops of Mansfeld are committing frightful excesses."* In 1622 Mansfeld entered the Bishopric of Speier: in three days he had fired thirty villages. The description of his atrocities given by a contemporary, who, though an opponent of Mansfeld, is confirmed in his remarks by others, is appalling—"The troops of Mansfeld have thrown the poor unprotected country people in heaps into the midst of the flames of the burning houses, and shot down like dogs those who attempted to save themselves. They have broken open and plundered the churches, pulled down the altars, trampled under foot the Most Holy Sacrament, and even daubed and besmeared their blood-dripping shoes with the Holy Oils."

But these are the words of an enemy. Camerar complains that the Unionists devastated the Palatinate more than the enemy, more than the soldiers of Spinola. In 1622, when Tilly is said to have committed his atrocities, the very same Camerar writes: "The excesses which are committed by our troops by robbing and plundering are very severely criticised." His letters at this period are full of complaints against Mansfeld and Christian. "God grant that the soldiers of Mansfeld," he cries out, "do not commit the havoc in the Palatinate that they did in Bohemia, lest there should be a universal despair." "In all these letters," M. Klopp says, "there is not a word against Tilly, not so much as a passing hint that Tilly's troops also plunder."

* "Das Mansfeldische Kriegsvolk haust arg."

However bitterly Camerar hated his opponent Tilly, whose sword hewed in pieces all the hopes, all the plans of the able statesman, never has Camerar thrown out a complaint against that General as he did in the case of Mansfeld. Such silence as this is a very weighty testimony for Tilly.

As might be expected from our description of the mercenaries of Mansfeld, they respected neither Catholic nor Lutheran churches. "What has a soldier got to do with religion?" they asked in disdain. Accordingly they plundered both with equal indifference. Their self-assumed name of "defenders of the Palatinate," was changed by the grateful inhabitants into "destroyers of the Palatinate." On the other hand, Tilly respected Lutheran and Calvinist;* not one of their churches was converted to Catholic uses. He went so far as to station a guard at the doors to prevent their being disturbed in their worship. The soldiers in their noble pride appealed to the inhabitants of several towns to bear witness to their good behaviour.

Tilly is accused of severity towards the Protestants of the Palatinate. Let us take the case of Heidelberg. The commandant, Morven, was at length forced to surrender the citadel, and Tilly allowed him and his troops to depart with all the honours of war. But the victorious soldiers were not so well pleased at their general's conduct, as they knew that within a few days the citadel and town would have been taken by storm. They were accordingly disposed to break the safe conduct given by their commander. But Tilly with drawn sword sprang before them, and by his firmness compelled them to respect his agreement. Next came the turn of the burghers. Morven had acted basely by them. In the conditions of the surrender there was nothing stipulated in favour of the town. He showed no consideration for their entreaties for his intercession with Tilly. They might therefore naturally expect harsh treatment at the hands of the latter. By the laws of war they had to ransom themselves, and the ransom was the prize not of the General but of the soldiers. These accordingly were disposed to demand a heavy payment; but the townsmen inform us that Tilly straightway, at the intercession of the commissioners, displayed wonderful clemency in lessening the ransom.

* Dyer says: "Tilly acted with the greatest harshness towards the Protestants of the Palatinate: they were deprived of their churches, and all ecclesiastical property was restored to the Roman Catholics." *Restored!* Perhaps his unnamed authority for this statement was speaking of the action consequent on the Edict of Restitution, which was published in 1629. As to the rest, are we to trust to Mr. Dyer, or M. Klopp?

The same generous forbearance towards enemies, the same compassion for the oppressed, marked Tilly in every other part of Germany. The victor of a hundred fields seemed to change his nature when the battle was done. The unprotected widow, the defenceless orphan, the Prince or ruler hard pressed by the exactions of war, had recourse to him, and met with justice and consideration. He sternly commanded or earnestly entreated for the just and the right, as occasion served or his authority allowed him. The State papers from which M. O. Klopp has drawn are full of such noble actions, and no other solution can be found for the long survival of the false statements of our ordinary histories than the Swedo-German works which propagated, and the necessity for fable which has fostered, the Protestant fiction called Tilly. The light and shade of the canvas do not more forcibly contrast than the steady conduct of the great League General with that of Mansfeld or Halberstadt. Fox-like cunning, dissimulation, carelessness for human life, and indifference to the sufferings of others, were the main traits of Mansfeld's character: though he was not, like Halberstadt, by nature bloodthirsty, he connived at the shedding of blood by his followers; and if he did not himself direct, like Halberstadt, the firing of villages and houses, he exacted no penalty for outrages when committed. Halberstadt, however, was a slave to his blind passions: he thirsted for blood like the untamed tiger of the jungle; he gloated over the tortures and agonies of his victims, and revelled in the blaze of the fires lit up by his soldiers. All his communications with villages and townspeople conveyed threats of pillage and fire. Thus in 1621 he answered the entreaties of the Landgrave of Darmstadt to spare his land:—"If we are in the slightest degree molested, be assured that we will in like measure lay waste your lands, so that you shall have cause to rue it, and your children's children to lament over it." In the same way did he shortly after treat the inhabitants of Paderborn. He asked in derision whether they intended to defend themselves, and added that that was his own desire: "Hold it as certain that we should not view any course with greater pleasure, whether it be by night or by day, and that we will give you an opportunity by setting fire to the hamlets that you may be able to see the better." To quicken their slowness in sending envoys to him, he threatened that if they did not comply with his demands on the instant he would "without further announcement burn down the whole see, cut and shoot down all the peasants and inhabitants, so that children's children will have cause to bewail

it." That these were not idle threats was proved by his line of march being marked by burning or smouldering houses and villages which were destroyed on fixed principles of art, and by troops set apart for that special purpose.

Such were Mansfeld and Christian as the leaders of armies. Their private life was equally edifying. The former always had a harem in his camp, and the latter made a public boast of his bad treatment of women. Such were the men who for ten years supported what later historians have called the Protestant cause in the Thirty Years' War.

The Shield of Achilles.

Imitated from the Anthology.

Ασπίοντος Αχιλλῆος, τὴν Ἐκτορος αἷμα πιοῦσαν,
Λαρπιάδης Δαναῶν ἦρε κακοκρισίην.
Ναυηγῶν δὲ θάλασσα κατέσπασσ, καὶ παρὰ τύμβον
Αἴαντος νηπτήν ὥρμισεν, οὐκ Ἰδάκη.
Καὶ κρίσιν Ἐλλήνων στυγερὴν ἀπίδειξε θάλασσα,
Καὶ Σαλαμῖς ἀπέχει κῦδος ὁρειδέμενον.

The Shield which great Achilles bore
When Hector's life-blood flow'd,
The false Ulysses won and wore,
By Grecian votes bestow'd :
But winds and waves, in man's despite,
Have set that wrongful judgment right.

"*To Ithaca!*"—To Ithaca?
His galley is a wreck.
The rescued trophy floats afar
Its lawful home to deck,
And rests where mighty Ajax lies,
Upon the shore of Salamis.

The Rise of a New Sanctuary.

A BEAUTIFUL book might be written on Catholic pilgrimages. We do not mean a mere history of the shrines which have from time to time attracted to themselves universal or local devotion, interesting as such a history would be, and plentifully as it would teem with anecdotes relating the most noble triumphs of divine grace and the most romantic incidents of Christian life. Beyond and behind the historical facts, which it would require much industry to collect and great judgment to sift, we might find traces of a sort of system, if we may venture so to speak of what is the creation of Him Who breatheth where He wills—a system analogous to the providential arrangement of the appearance of great Saints of peculiar characters on the horizon of the Church at the moment when their presence is most needed and most opportune ; or again, to the successive developments even of doctrine, and much more of great devotions, or of the changes which seem to distinguish the favourite religious practices of a particular generation from those of the periods which precede and follow its birth. In the case of some of the more famous Christian pilgrimages, there seems an unexpectedness which has at all events to some extent explained itself by its results. Why should the body of St. James the Great lie in the northern corner of Spain, those of the three Kings at Cologne, or that of St. Mary Magdalene in the south-east of France ? We can understand St. Peter and St. Paul at Rome, and no Christian heart can fail to throb at the thought of Bethlehem, or of the Holy Sepulchre ; but why the wondrous tale of Loreto, the house of Nazareth placed down far away from the other great "relics" which are clustered together at Rome, within reach of a hasty dash from some Tunisian corsair who might be sailing up the blue Adriatic in search of plunder or of slaves ? Yet these great pilgrimages, and a hundred others scattered over Christian Europe, did a

great work, centuries ago, in helping to weld it together, in the same way as, in a less degree, did the Crusades ; and St. James, even to the philosophical historian, may well seem to have entrenched himself in an inaccessible fortress from whence strength and courage might flow forth in perennial streams to fortify the fainting hearts of the Spaniards, the one Christian nation which had for centuries to wage a hand to hand fight for bare life against the Mahometan power planted in permanence upon its own soil. Perhaps the peculiar sweetness, the delicate fragrance, the tender penetrating charm which has come home to those who have knelt long in the Santa Casa, might not have flourished so much in a crowded city, amidst the bustle of the government of the Christian world, and with other scarcely less great shrines to divert the attention.

And, again, what countless secret histories of grace would have to be unfolded, if the story of any one of these great sanctuaries could be written from end to end ! In company with them, we must mention the thousand shrines of our Blessed Lady scattered over the world—not the old world of Europe merely, but even to some extent the new—in one sense the fruit, in another sense the parents, of the most universal of Christian devotions after those which address themselves directly to God and our Lord, but witnessing most truly, not only to the universality of the devotion to Mary, but to her tender, motherly care over every portion of the kingdom of her Son, as if it were not to be thought of that there should be anywhere a Catholic community which did not possess some visible and local token of her graciousness, some trophy of her power, some holy spot where she had placed her foot or left her name behind her. And as we find her everywhere as to place, so it is no wonder that she should also have no bounds as to time. It is a part of the ever fresh and perpetual life of the Church, that, with all due exceptions as to what is really exceptional, no one generation or century should, as it were, have a monopoly of the graces and marvels that are wrought for the help of her children. Each Christian century has its Saints, its miracles, its devotions, as well as its dangers and its enemies. The devices of evil put on

new shapes, and repeat themselves in various guise. The contrivances of mercy, the interferences of the Saints in glory for the deliverance of their brethren on earth, the boons and inexhaustible bounties of the Queen of Heaven, are fresh, time after time, as the morning dew. So we may well expect it to be as long as the world lasts, and as the light of Catholic truth and the presence of the Church spread from one country now pagan or Protestant to another, we may expect to hear of fresh and fresh manifestations of the endless charity and compassion of the courtiers of Heaven connected with places yet unknown, whose names shall sound strangely beside those of ancient shrines in the catalogue of the Church.

Though it cannot be doubted that the Catholic Church is ever ready to receive with grateful acknowledgments the new fountain-springs, as it were, of grace and healing which may burst forth from time to time for the advantage of her children, it would be a serious mistake to suppose that she is over eager to welcome any phenomena that may claim this character, or that she fails to submit them, when they occur, to the severest and most cautious scrutiny. What we acknowledge is the possibility of such manifestations of mercy in general, and not to acknowledge this would be inconsistent with the Catholic spirit. As for particular cases, the Church forces them, as it were, to prove themselves. She watches them with a jealous eye, and seems, at least negatively, to discourage them, until the facts have forced themselves into such prominence as to require investigation on the part of the legitimate authority. The inquiry which ensues has its strict and exacting laws, and, when these have been properly observed, it is far more certain that a good deal of probably good evidence has been rejected, than that a single tittle of insufficient evidence has been allowed. Even then, the devotion which has sprung up is simply tolerated, while at the same time this toleration brings it under strict regulation and supervision. The sanction of the Church, as far as it is formally given, extends to what we may call the substance rather than the accidents of the history. Thus, suppose, what is most highly improbable,

that the story connected with a received sanctuary or place of pilgrimage were to turn out a mistake, and that where an Angel had, as it was said, appeared, or where it was supposed that our Blessed Lady had been seen and had intimated her desire that a church should be built, nothing of the kind had taken place. The Church would not have sanctioned the details of the story, or of the message, but she would have allowed the erection of a new church, and encouraged the visiting of the church by the Faithful as a means of obtaining bodily or spiritual benefits through the intercession of our Lady or the Angel. What had been done would have been absolutely and wholly good in its kind, even though there might have been some mistake in the evidence on which the authorities had acted. Nor again, does the Church bind up the devotion to which her sanction may be given with the character, the antecedents, or the subsequent career, of the persons who may have been the original channels of the communication by reason of which she has acted in sanctioning that devotion. Every step that she takes is marked by the most jealous and most cautious reverence, and we have in this one of the surest of incidental guarantees for the immense probability of the truth of all, at least, that is substantial in the story on which the new devotion may be founded. The care taken as to the evidence, and the cautious delay in watching the progress of the movement to which the facts may give rise, are far more than enough to secure certainty in the case of any class of phenomena which are not in themselves impossible or improbable. But we start, in our reasonings on these subjects, from the principle that it is neither impossible nor improbable that fresh miracles and new supernatural interferences may be vouchsafed from time to time to stimulate the piety of the Faithful, or for some other similar end in the good providence of God.

The last most remarkable instance of facts of the kind to which we are referring is the rise and progress of the devotion to *Notre Dame de Lourdes*. It is now rather more than eleven years since the first beginning of this remarkable pilgrimage, and already a magnificent church has been nearly finished on the rocks which surmount the

"grotto" on which our Blessed Lady is said to have appeared, and a band of diocesan Missionaries are living on the spot to supply the spiritual needs of the vast concourse of pilgrims who flock to the shrine. The population of the mountains and valleys in the neighbourhood—Lourdes is in the "Hautes Pyrénées"—form the most constant train of visitants, but the pilgrimage is also made by thousands every year from all parts of France, from Spain, Belgium, and Germany, and by many even from England, Russia, and America. The story of the "Apparition" resembles in some measure that of La Sallette, which has become famous throughout the Catholic world, and is not unknown among Protestants on account of the attacks made upon it in the English press. The scene is different: a curious grotto in a mass of rock, near the town of Lourdes, not far from the current of the Gave, instead of the lonely side of a grassy mountain. The human agent in the matter is like the Melanie of La Sallette—a young girl of fourteen, of poor, honest, and pious parents, by name Bernadette Soubiron. She was sent with two companions to gather sticks for firewood, and was preparing to cross on foot the stream which flows at the foot of the pile of rocks called Massabielle, in order to get into the curious grotto which they contain, when she beheld in a sort of niche formed in the rock the marvellous Apparition of our Blessed Lady. Here, however, the two histories of La Sallette and Lourdes somewhat diverge. The companions of Bernadette saw nothing. The same was the case with the great crowds of people who were afterwards present on the many occasions (eighteen in all, between Feb. 11 and March 25, 1858) when the same vision was vouchsafed to her. On these occasions Bernadette appeared in the state of ecstasy, and seemed to be talking to an invisible being. After a time she received instructions, some of which were secret and personal to herself, while others consisted in messages to the Clergy, the purport of which was to enjoin on them the building of a shrine at the grotto. So far, of course, the truth of the apparition rested upon the word and character of the child, a simple pure Christian maiden, except so far as it was

confirmed by the remarkable phenomena of her ecstatic state, and by the ever-growing devotion and belief of the mass of the people. The Clergy—Lourdes was administered by a Curé, the Abbé Peyramale, and a number of assistants—held entirely aloof from what must be called the religious “movement” as to the Apparition, and to some extent opposed it even actively. When Bernadette appeared before the Curé with her message about the chapel, M. Peyramale scolded her, and ended by bidding her tell the “Dame” who had sent her to give him a proof of her power. It was in February. A wild rose-bush was under the spot where the feet of the Apparition were said to rest. Let the Lady make it blossom. The message was duly delivered, and the bush did not break into flower.

Soon, however, signs enough of the power of the “Dame” began to manifest themselves. On the 25th of February she made Bernadette drink and wash herself in the fountain, and eat of the herb which grew by its side. There was then no fountain or spring of any kind or size in the grotto, but the child was seen to begin to throw up the soil with her hands, and in a short time the little hole that she thus made was filled with water. It was thick with mud, but she conquered her natural repugnance and drank a little. This was the origin of the now famous source of the grotto of Lourdes, which sends up clear limpid water at the rate of 122,000 *litres* in the course of the day. On the day of its first appearance its stream was so small as to be entirely absorbed in the soil of the grotto before it could make its way to the river, and it increased at first very gradually. But the first day had not passed before it began to be rumoured that the water possessed miraculous powers, or, at least, that miraculous cures had been worked by means of its application. A poor labourer, who had lost the use of one eye many years before by an explosion in a quarry, and was as well known at Lourdes as the man who sat at the Beautiful Gate was well known at Jerusalem, was suddenly found to be able to see. He had sent for the water and applied it to his eye. His case was carefully sifted by two eminent doctors, and both declared that the case was altogether beyond the power

of human agency or skill. A number of similar cases followed, and raised the faith and devotion of the people to the highest pitch. In fact, the Grotto of Lourdes has, humanly speaking, been made a sanctuary by the people alone ; and the people, however ready we may suppose them to be to accept with credulity the report of a new Apparition or of other marvels of the same kind, are usually far too practical—if we may use such an expression in connection with such a subject—to keep up a new pilgrimage without having substantial reasons for believing that it is fruitful in benefits of which no other probable account can be given than that which attributes them to the special interposition of Heaven.

When, after long delay, the Bishop of Tarbes found that it was no longer possible for him to persevere in his prudent policy of ignoring the new devotion, he created a learned and scientific Commission, for the purpose of investigating the facts of an alleged miraculous character of which the whole country was full. After carefully examining into the evidence with regard to the Apparition, and to the new fountain of water which had sprung forth and continued to flow so abundantly, the members of the Commission travelled through the dioceses of Tarbes, Auch, and Bayonne, for the purpose of interrogating the persons in the neighbourhood of Lourdes who were supposed to have received miraculous cures. The cases presented to them were many hundreds in number, and it was impossible to go into all. The Commission could only deal with a certain number of the more conspicuous. These they divided in their report into three classes. Six they set aside as “susceptible of a natural explanation ;” nine or ten were placed on a second list, as cases in which the Commissioners were inclined to recognise a distinctly supernatural agency. After these were eliminated there remained at least fifteen, as to which theologians and medical men were agreed that the supernatural character was clear and undeniable. They had all the marks of true miracles, such as might pass the severe ordeal which is insisted on at Rome in cases of the same kind. The results were great and striking, the cures instantaneous

and complete. The water was ascertained to have no naturally medicinal properties, and besides, the cures ranged over a number of maladies entirely different in character, all of which had given way with equal suddenness. It was on evidence such as this that, after three years more of patient silence, to give full time for the acquirement of any new information on the subject, Mgr. Laurence, Bishop of Tarbes, gave his final judgment, approving of the *culte* of "Notre Dame de la Grotte de Lourdes," and declaring his intention of building a sanctuary on the spot of the Apparition, in accordance with the injunctions received by Bernadette. A large church is, as we have said, already nearly finished.

M. Henri Lasserre's volume,* from which we have derived the facts here stated concerning this new pilgrimage, contains narratives in full of a considerable number of the miraculous cures. M. Lasserre has visited the spot, has seen and conversed with almost every one mentioned in these narratives, and has brought together all the most authentic information that his subject-matter admits of. It can very seldom have been the case that the history of a new devotion or a new shrine has been so fully and so authentically written. M. Lasserre is himself what may be called "a convert to Lourdes," and his conversion was brought about in the most satisfactory possible manner, that is, in consequence of his experiencing in his own person the wonder-working effects of the water. He tells us how he was fast losing his sight in the autumn of 1862, and how the remedies to which he had recourse were ineffectual, though he allowed his eyes absolute repose, when a Protestant friend persuaded him, much against the grain, to send for some of the water, the application of which to his eyes immediately restored his sight. He has certainly paid his debt of gratitude with exceptional industry, and his book is as complete a manual of the history of Lourdes as can be desired. It breathes somewhat, however, of the air of the Parisian Catholic press—the tone of a band of writers who are engaged in a hand-to-hand conflict with the Voltairian papers, and with

* *Notre Dame de Lourdes.* Paris, V. Palmé, 1869.

that subtle and penetrating spirit of infidelity and of the mockery of all sacred things which is only too prevalent in the intellectual society of France. The enemies of Christian faith and piety have here scorn given them back for scorn, and are scourged with that lash of ridicule which they have themselves been so fond of using against sacred things, against charity, devotion, and purity.

For the strange history of *Notre Dame de Lourdes* would be incomplete if it were not added that the miraculous phenomena of which we have been speaking have been made the occasion of many a battle in the French press, and even of official attempts at the repression of popular piety. The war in the press was a matter of course, as soon as it became publicly stated that a fresh Apparition of our Blessed Lady was asserted to have taken place. We may compare it to what we might imagine as to the "bow-wow" of the *Times* if Lourdes had chanced to be Holywell—if St. Winifred's standing miracle had forced itself on attention in our day for the first time. The parts of M. Lasserre's book which treat of the polemical devices of the unbelieving press as, one after another, every natural explanation of the new phenomena failed them, are extremely amusing, and present us, in a sort of faithful epitome, the dishonest shifts of incredulity in the presence of truth supported by reason and proof. But still more amusing, perhaps, are the pages in which the writer before us, with evident enjoyment of his occupation, has related the manœuvres of M. le Prefet and M. le Commissaire de Police, the reluctant and half-hearted repression of the devotion—for the municipal authorities at one time "set a seal" upon the grotto, and shut out its pious frequenters—of M. le Maire, the official gravity of M. le Ministre des Cultes, the attempt to use the ecclesiastical authority against the children of the Church, and even to irritate the people to disturbance that a pretext might be furnished for the employment of armed force. Willingly would we draw out the history in its details; for in this respect also the "affaire" of *Notre Dame de Lourdes* is perfectly typical and representative, and there is a clever, impudent

coolness about French officiality which gives flavour and raciness to the narrative of its discomfiture. Discomfiture at last came. M. le Maire had been ordered by M. le Préfet to shut up the grotto, and he, poor man, had sought to sail between two winds and to pacify the people as well as keep his place by complying, under the pretext that the water might have valuable medicinal properties and belonged to the town. Bernadette had been taken into custody, and an attempt had even been made to convey her to the living tomb of a house of *aliénés*,—when the tide of devotion and the popular movement produced by the numberless miracles of the grotto reached the foot of the throne of Napoleon III. A laconic telegram to M. le Préfet settled the whole business. There was a little delay to save appearances, but the order for the seclusion of the grotto was revoked by the authority that issued it, and the patience of the people and the prudent abstention of the Clergy fully rewarded by the tardy though complete concurrence of the secular Government with the measures taken by the Church to honour the new sanctuary, which had drawn round itself a bulwark of popular belief and enthusiasm which no Government could afford to despise or to thwart. The conversion of the officials at the word of the Emperor was quite dramatic. It reminds one of the nursery tale, in which the water begins to quench the fire, and the fire to burn the stick, and the stick to belabour the pig. M. le Préfet and M. le Commissaire de Police, and M. le Maire, all appear inspired with a sudden access of devotion, which communicates itself to even so high a personage as M. le Ministre himself. It is true that, after a time, M. le Préfet and M. le Commissaire find the neighbourhood of Lourdes rather uncomfortable, and they are removed to exercise their piety in other spheres of labour. M. le Préfet, as it chanced, had to go to the department in which Sallette is situated! However, what is certain is, that the new Sanctuary exists and flourishes, and that the evidence concerning it has been made far more complete and indisputable than it might otherwise have been by the opposition which greeted its appearance.

The Dialogues of Lydney.

NO. I.—A COUNCIL ON THE COUNCIL.—PART I.

CHAPTER I.—THE KINGSHILLS OF LYDNEY.

THE brightest parts of the whole year to me are generally the vacation weeks, which I mostly spend at Lydney Lodge with my old friend Kingshill and his wife. It is a rare change for a hard-working lawyer, who has to live for the greater part of the year in the precincts of Lincoln's Inn, and to pass from his chambers to the Courts and from the Courts to his chambers, to breathe the fresh soft air of Lydney, with just a spice of the salt-water in it—enough, if the theory of my friend's not very scientific gardener be true, to turn the hydrangeas blue—and to roam over open downs and through groves of oak and chesnut with the good master of the lodge. It is a rare change, too, for the mind, which has had to feed itself upon the anxious struggles of clients, the hard rules and exacting precision of the law, or, on the other hand, on the thoughtless and frivolous talk of the club or society, to find itself once more in contact with a man of careful culture, who has had time to read on upon his favourite subjects during many years of mature life, and who has thought and noted almost as much as he has read. I find body and mind always the better for that six weeks at Lydney—which often grows into the whole of my vacation months—and I may say that I find my soul better also, partly because it repairs its strength with the returning vigour of health, and is not uninfluenced by intercourse with persons so full of unaffected charity as my two hosts, partly because of other advantages within its reach at Lydney, of which I need not now speak more particularly. As I am going to jot down some notes of sayings and doings at Lydney, I must give by way of preface the shortest possible account of the place and its inhabitants.

I must begin with the latter. Kingshill is, as I have said, one of my oldest friends. Our friendship dates from my first fortnight at —, when he took compassion upon the loneliness of a poor fellow just launched on the rough vigorous life of a great public school, initiated me into the games and fashions of the place, made me after a few days come and "mess" with him and another good-natured lad in the same house with himself, taught me how to stand up at once against bullying, and helped me very materially to establish myself on a comfortable footing with my companions. Kingshill was always popular, and his

friendship supplied me with credentials in our little society. We passed up the school together, almost side by side; we met one another in London during the Christmas holidays, and once or twice interchanged visits in the summer. Then came the time of separation, for we were not bound to the same College or even to the same University; but we corresponded, and kept up our home companionship, and took our degrees much about the same time. By this time our correspondence had become regular, and it related to our most intimate personal thoughts, and our views as to the great questions which at that time were agitating England, especially on matters of religion. Happily, we found ourselves in the same camp, and, as we were both eager and full of hope, our sympathy in the movement which was carrying us on was a fresh bond between us. Then came two events which have combined to make us feel more perfectly brothers than before. The first of these was Kingshill's marriage, just before his ordination as a minister of the Establishment, to a dear cousin of mine, with whom many of my own younger days had been passed, and the second was his conversion to Catholicism, about the time of the Gorham controversy. My own mind had been made up in the same direction, shortly before, and after a few anxious months of prayer and fear, his happiness in his new faith was finally crowned by the submission of his wife. After this, the Kingshills travelled for two or three years, and then came back to settle down at Lydney Lodge, a small house with just a hundred acres of land around it which had been left to my friend by an unmarried uncle. He has somewhat enlarged it, to make room for possible guests, as well as for a large assortment of books which his studious tastes have led him to accumulate, but he has held his hand from buying more land in the neighbourhood, content with the free use and enjoyment of the wide range of downs at the back of the village, and of the well-kept walks and drives of two lordly neighbours, who give him all possible facilities, and who, as they visit their places near Lydney for not more than a month or six weeks in each year, derive from them, in reality, much less advantage than he does. He has made walks and planted shrubberies here and there through the fields immediately round his house, and in this way has made himself the master of some very lovely views over folds of wood which lie below his own grounds, through which the little river which receives the contributions of the hills behind him makes its way to the sea, at the distance of some seven or eight miles. The house itself lies lower than these walks, and has nothing to look out upon but its own quiet and well-kept gardens.

I shall only add two words more as to the delights of Lydney Lodge. It is not generally a happiness in wedded life that it should be childless; and I know no gentler or more thoroughly loving a soul than the mistress of the house of which I have been speaking. She is one of those tender-natured women who can be

unkind to no one, and who give you the feeling by their quiet genial manner that there is within them an almost fathomless depth of loving kindness, enough to supply the wants of half a world. But the source of motherly love, the tenderest and most beautiful of the affections, has remained a sealed fountain in the heart of Gertrude Kingshill. Lydney Lodge has never rung with the merry chirp and prattle of children; as if this one human joy was to be denied to two persons who certainly seem in every other respect to have the happiest of lots. One result, perhaps, has been that Mrs. Kingshill has become the mother and visible Providence, as it were, of the poor all around, to an extent which would hardly have been possible to her if she had had a family of her own to attend to; another is that she and her husband have lived in the most unbroken companionship, and she has become the partner of his thoughts, his studies, and his intellectual pursuits. There is a singular tenderness and grace about the pair in their relation to one another, as if each had to supply to the other the whole circle of home affections, which has reminded me often of the words of Elcana to Anna—"Am I not more to thee than ten children?" I have never heard a murmur on the subject from either; but I have never seen, even in the midst of the most flourishing families, married happiness like theirs.

The other word that I must say by way of preface relates to one who is not quite a member of the household at Lydney Lodge, but with whom, if I succeed in interesting my readers in what has from time to time passed there, they will soon be well acquainted. This is the good chaplain, Don Venanzio. Don Venanzio is, as his name implies, an Italian, from a little town in the March of Ancona. He was educated at Rome, and after a long course of studies returned to his native province a *beneficiato* in some collegiate or cathedral church—whether at Loreto or Recanati I have forgotten—where his zeal, activity, and personal holiness made him for many years an object of hatred to the emissaries of the secret societies, whose great aim is the corruption of youth. He had to fly the country to save his life at the time of the short-lived Roman republic, when the Pope was at Gaeta, and after remaining for some time in Paris, fell in with the Kingshills as they were returning from their travels after their conversion. They were looking out for a chaplain, having already determined to settle at Lydney and open a small mission, and as Don Venanzio had picked up a little English and was willing to fall in with their plans, they brought him over with them and settled him in a pretty little presbytery looking out into their own garden. Don Venanzio is one of the Italian exiles who have taken root in England. He has thoroughly mastered our language, and has even made himself acquainted with our literature, and with the questions of the day among us. I must say that I have very seldom found foreigners who have been able to comprehend the religious state of England. Too many of

quiet depth. But of the part of the world was other has been possible which only of have some actuality to be intended were to the rest of s to Lydney s in well Don own and once a at and centred the life ope d in after wing ion, was with into miles red our ust ble of them seem to start with false notions as to facts, notions quite in harmony with their experience in their own country, where everyone who is not a Catholic is, we may almost say, an infidel, and to make no allowances for the immense mass of hindrances which prevent many ordinarily well-informed persons among our Protestant neighbours from recognising the claims of Catholicity, even to examination. Thus they are sometimes too ready to see evidences of bad faith in words and actions which are simply the result of educational prejudices of which Protestants are unconscious. The Italian theology, in particular, is very wide as to the distribution of grace, but it seems to me that even Italians sometimes fail to apply it practically. It is a part of the same thing that they should be unable to take in without greater and more patient study than most men are capable of, the intellectual and controversial position of the various religious parties which divide the Establishment. Whether it be that Don Venanzio has been unusually patient, or that he has an uncommon gift of discernment and of moderation in judgment, I do not know; but he certainly is remarkable for his tolerant and intelligent charity. Perhaps his perpetual intercourse with Mr. and Mrs. Kingshill may have had something to do with it. For the rest, I shall leave his character to unfold itself as best it may to such readers as care to study it.

CHAPTER II.—MR. LLOYD AND HIS DIFFICULTIES.

ON the occasion of the visit to Lydney Lodge of which I am now about to speak I was not unaccompanied in my journey. Kingshill is always glad to receive congenial guests, and I had enlisted as my companion a brother lawyer already known to my friend, who was on his way to a further county, and might spare us a few days before he proceeded to his shooting at Marlock. My friend Lloyd comes of an old Catholic family on what was formerly the "Welsh March," in which some of the traditions of Charles Butler's time have been preserved long after they have vanished from the great mass of Catholic society. I say some traditions, not all, for my friend is far from being a perfect representation of the old "Cisalpine" spirit. But he amuses me greatly by his timidity in matters of religious development, as well as by certain opinions of which we shall hear more presently. He says his Rosary every day, and has an old-fashioned way of fasting strictly on the eves of the Feasts of our Blessed Lady, but he can hardly make up his mind to the statues of the Madonna which are now happily so common in our churches. Nothing would induce him to miss one of the great "Indulgences," but he thinks that converts go to Communion too frequently. I know him to be extremely charitable, and to be well acquainted with the use of certain instruments of personal penance. I have seldom met a man who seemed to me to keep a greater guard over his tongue in speaking of other people. He rejoices in the long prayers and

Litanies in the *Garden of the Soul*, and he knows the Penitential Psalms, and, indeed, a great part of the Psalter, by heart. He is always to be found at the earliest Mass of the chapel near our chambers, and I think he never leaves the chapel without putting a small offering into the alms-box. Still, he is timid, and we have many battles on Catholic subjects, in which we generally end by agreeing to differ. I suspect that he has not yet quite acquiesced in the Hierarchy, and the prominent display of the Roman collar. Catholic literature of the present day he reads nothing of—not even, Mr. Editor, your own interesting periodical—but he believes the *Dublin Review* to be about on a par with Garibaldi. He is in a constant state of protest against converts, and new Religious Orders, and foreign devotions. I have said enough to give a general idea of my friend's religious position, and need only add that of late he has been very nervous about the approaching Council. I am not sure that he is not afraid that it will meddle with the British Constitution, of which he is a great admirer. He is loyal to the Church, for I know that he has "made" his Jubilee very devoutly, and has refused to listen to all mitigatory doctrines as to eggs and *lacticinia*. He is terribly afraid, however, of a bugbear, which he calls the Personal Infallibility of the Pope. At the same time he is thoughtfully alive to some of the great intellectual dangers of the day, which meet him continually in society, and of which I observe that he takes notes in his mind. For a person who reads so very little except the *Times*, the *Saturday Review*, and the *Spectator*, he is wonderfully well acquainted with the difficulties as to faith which beset the minds of the more educated men of our time. He sees that society is going to pieces with the decay of belief, and trembles at every fresh element of ruin that he discerns. But he amuses me sometimes by the manner in which he grasps at reeds in his hopes of better things. Not long ago I met him in a radiant mood walking along the flower-beds which skirt the eastern side of Hyde Park. I could see that he had some good news to tell me. "My dear fellow," he said, before I had time to greet him, "you'll be so glad to hear that they have settled there is a God. The majority was quite respectable." I found out in a minute or two that he was speaking of the issue of a debate in a certain society of "Philosophical Investigators," who had decided the night before in favour of the evidences of Theism. Such is William Lloyd, who was now coming to spend a few days with me at Lydney Lodge.

We started early in the afternoon, and a rapid ride of an hour and a half brought us to the station, where Kingshill was waiting for us in an open carriage. He had long known Lloyd, so that there was no preliminary distance to be surmounted before we could all feel perfectly at our ease together. In half an hour more we were on the lawn, where the ladies—a Miss Clara Lancaster was staying with my cousin—were sitting in the shade

on garden chairs, with a small table by their side, on which a servant had just placed a tea-pot and a few cups. This afternoon tea was an institution at Lydney. When we had duly refreshed ourselves, Kingshill proposed that we should walk over the downs to an old Roman fort, which commanded a fine view of the open country to the westward. The ladies went off on some business of charity in the village, and we Londoners were soon rejoicing in the feel of the soft turf under our feet, and the fresh country air bathing us on every side.

"You have just missed your relation the Bishop, Lloyd," said Kingshill; "he left us this morning. We couldn't get him to stay, even for you. He has to get through a number of convents, and ever so much business besides, before he starts for Rome. He is in the highest spirits about the Council."

"Does he think it will really come off, then?" said Lloyd, with a minor key in his voice which almost made me laugh.

"Well, I suppose so; I know Don Venanzio makes us pray enough for it. We have the *Veni Creator* and the Litany every morning before Mass, and I don't think there's a faithful soul in our little mission who hasn't been to Communion three or four times for the Pope's intention. The good Padre is full of it."

"There, Lloyd," said I, "Don Venanzio is none of your new brooms; he's a Roman of the Romans, and has probably an unbroken line of Christian ancestors reaching up to the days of St. Venantius himself. We shall put you under instruction with him."

"Well," he replied, "I hope it's all right. I'm sure I pray as hard that no harm may come of it as any one of you. But I hear that sad fears are entertained on the matter. The Teutonic races don't like despots."

"Despots!" said Kingshill, "I don't understand you. I suppose we all acknowledge the Church to be a monarchy, as Bellarmine says, tempered by an aristocratic and even by a democratic element. But, I suppose, if we thought the monarch too despotic, we should be glad of nothing so much as to see him call his Parliament together, and take their advice about affairs of State. We hear a great deal just now about the cessation of personal government in France, and what is meant is, that a free Parliament is to meet. If I thought the Pope too much inclined to "personal government"—as I don't—I should feel relieved, I suppose, by the assembling of a Council."

"True," said Lloyd, "but a Council is not a Parliament. The Bishops, as I am told, don't know what they are going to discuss, and, after all, they cannot depart from the conclusions traced out for them by the Court of Rome. They are bound hand and foot by the prevalent dogma of Papal Infallibility, and moreover, as I hear, they have taken and have to take an oath which binds them down still tighter. I hear that in Germany people are very anxious. The Bishops will not be free. Nay, they say that even

the Pope is not free. He is a tool in the hands of a party—a great reactionary party, which has been gaining ground for the last thirty or forty years, and is determined now, once for all, to get the reins of government into its own hands, by pledging the Council to retrograde doctrines of all sorts, which will set the Church in direct opposition to modern ideas."

"Oh, my dear friend," said Kingshill, "I understand you now. I have heard something of these fears, and have seen the German book in which they have been put forward."

"I can't read a word of German," said Lloyd, "and what I say is what I hear from —. He has just come back from a visit of six weeks at Munich."

"Well," said Kingshill, "let me catechise you a little. What did he say about the Jesuits?"

"You know," said Lloyd, "that our family have always been staunch to Stonyhurst, and I can't bear to have the Fathers abused. However, they must be a queer set in Rome, if what I hear is true. They have got a newspaper there, called the *Civiltà*, which is a sort of official organ, and has correspondents all over the world. One of these—from France, I think—has lately been made to put forth a feeler as to the Council. The *Syllabus* is to be defined, the Infallibility of the Pope in person is to be carried by acclamation of the Bishops, as the Court of Rome can't well take the initiative, and the Coronation of the Blessed Virgin is to be made an article of faith. It seems that the Jesuits are at the bottom of the whole scheme."

"I asked you about the Jesuits," said Kingshill, "because I wanted to see if your informant repeated faithfully what has been said in the book to which I refer. If he said anything about our Lady's Coronation he blundered, for it is the Assumption that is talked about. In other respects he has repeated his lesson well enough. The *Civiltà*, by-the-bye, is not a paper nor an official organ ; it would be called in this country a 'Magazine and Review,' for it admits stories as well as serious articles, but there can be no doubt that it often speaks the mind of influential persons at Rome. But I want to get at the fears that are entertained as to the Council. Would it be fair to say—for this is how it is put where I have seen the matter discussed—that people are really afraid that the Pope is under the influence of a violent party, Jesuit or not ; that the Council will be led or forced by him to define as dogmas matters that do not belong to ancient tradition and what they call the deposit of the faith ; that a new system of Church government will be established, and that doctrines as to civil liberty and social order will be proclaimed which will be subversive of what we fairly consider the rights of individuals and of governments?"

"I think," said Lloyd, "that would about express what I have heard people talking of. They are good sincere Catholics, as I believe, and want things to go on as they are at present."

"That is just what surprises me," replied Kingshill. "I can imagine Protestants or Anglicans supposing that the Council is going to do all these things, but I can't understand it in Catholics. I suppose we all hold that Christ has made to His Church the promise that she shall never fail or fall into error?"

"Yes, but the whole Church; not the Pope alone."

"It does not matter at present whether we make that distinction or not. What I suppose is, that we believe that the Church will not fail or run into error; and I suppose that we interpret these promises largely, and as I may say, morally, and that we expect in consequence such a perpetual assistance to the Church as may enable her to fulfil her mission in the world for the salvation of men. It seems surely natural that a dutiful Catholic mind, full of faith in our Lord's love for this Church, as well as in His explicit promises, should feel certain that she could not only never err in her strictest sphere—that is, in the teaching of faith and morals—but that she would always be guided in proposing holy things of whatever kind to her children with due wisdom and prudence, with due consideration for the conditions of various periods in society and in the history of humanity, so that, in short, she should fulfil the word of our Lord about the steward who gives to the household their food in due seasons, or about the scribe learned in the Kingdom of Heaven who produces out of his treasure things new and old. Is it not so?"

"Certainly, provided the Church is allowed to speak or decide freely."

"I am coming to that presently," said my friend. "And now, let us put aside our own ideas, whatever they may be, as to the particular matters which are to be discussed at Rome—as to which no one has a right to speak, for, if I understand right, the very members of the Commissions who are preparing the matter are bound to secrecy—let us put aside the Syllabus, and the Infallibility of the Pope, and the Assumption, and imagine for the moment that we know or can conjecture nothing about the details, and then let me ask you a simple question. Can a Catholic, holding the true faith about the assistance promised to the Church by our Lord in the large moral sense of which I am speaking, can he really imagine it to be consistent with that faith to suppose that a General Council will decree doctrines not contained in the deposit, that it will revolutionise in a mischievous sense the whole system of Church government, and that it will interfere with anything good and true that we may value in the way of social liberty or of the right of individuals or of the State? Would not the mischief be so great, that if it were to happen the Church would be really and greatly, if not altogether, hindered in the discharge of her office in the world, and this in consequence of her own action?"

"I don't see how we can imagine such a thing of a true Council, certainly."

"Wait a moment, and I will come to that point. But let us suppose that we were certain that the Council of the Vatican was to be a true Council, I suppose we should accept beforehand, if we were true Catholics, whatever it might decree?"

"I don't see that we could do otherwise. But they say that all history is against Papal Infallibility, that the Syllabus contradicts common sense and natural right, and that the Assumption is founded on apocryphal stories not to be found earlier than the fourth century."

"Stop a minute, and let me keep to the point. Who are they, however, who say this?"

"Well, there's a Bishop in France, and a great number of learned men in Germany, who are afraid to sign their names for fear of persecution, and the whole of the press, we may almost say, except a few Ultramontane papers, and—"

"Never mind, multiply them all by fifty, if you like. I am supposing that we are certain that the Vatican Council is a true Council. Now suppose, being such, it were to contradict fifty Bishops in France, and five hundred learned gentlemen in Germany who are afraid to sign their names for fear of persecution, and the whole press of ten Europes, with the insignificant exception of Catholic newspapers and reviews; which ought we to believe, the Council or its opponents? Which has the promise of the assistance of the Holy Ghost?"

"Well, I suppose we should have to believe the Council. I hope I may be dead and buried, however, before—"

"Oh, my dear friend, I hope to see you here next year, at all events. However, should we be willing in that case to believe in the Infallibility of the Pope?"

"Yes."

"And in the doctrine of the Syllabus?"

"Yes."

"And in the Assumption of our Blessed Lady?"

"Well, I never doubted that for a moment."

"But as a matter of faith, if so decided by the Council?"

"Yes, of course."

"So that in that case the definition of the Infallibility of the Pope would prove, among other things, that our learned friends in Germany were not so learned as they might have been, when they said that all history is against it, and in the same way, that the persons who denounced the Syllabus, or the fact of the Assumption, were mistaken?"

"Certainly, they may be mistaken."

"For my part, I have no doubt as to that matter, independently of the Council. The chief of these writers—if, at least, we may trust common report, for I hardly like to do so—is a man very learned in history, but who has more than once shown great deficiency of theological knowledge, strictly so called, without which Christian history cannot be understood. But now let us go

on with our argument. You agree that if we knew the Vatican Council to be a true Council, we should, as good Catholics, have no right to dissent from its decisions?"

"We should be fools if we did."

"And that we cannot, as Catholics, entertain any fear that a legitimate and true Council ever will or ever can define a doctrine which does not belong to the deposit of faith, or change substantially the system of Church government established by our Lord and the Apostles, or unduly and fatally interfere with our social and individual rights?"

"I should say that if I thought that a true Council could do all this, I had no right to the name of a Catholic. But I suppose these people are afraid that it will *not* be a true Council."

"And you?"

"Well, I don't see why it shouldn't be. It looks very like one, certainly."

"Exactly, it looks very like one. I suppose the Pope thinks it so?"

"Yes."

"And the Bishops?"

"Yes."

"And the Catholic world?"

"Yes; except those good people of whom I speak."

"And they are a small minority?"

"Yes."

"Let me then use again my former argument, as to the promises made by our Lord, as we believe, to the Church. Do you think it would be compatible with them that the Pope should call together the Catholic Bishops of all the world, that they should obey his call, and that he and they, and the great mass of the Faithful, should suppose that the Council thus collected were a true Council, and its decrees consequently infallible, and that all this should be a mistake?"

"I don't quite see how a good Catholic could think this, if the Council were really free, and if its deliberation were not, as I may say, 'cooked' beforehand. But that is what people fear."

"I shall come to that presently. But you see that what you say now is only the same thing over again in other words."

"How so?"

"Why, my argument applies to it just as much as to what I supposed last. Do you think that a Catholic can imagine that the Pope and all the Bishops, and the Catholic world in general, can be allowed by God, in accordance with those promises, to believe that assembly to be a true General Council which is not really free, and the deliberations of which are, as you say, 'cooked?'"

"Well, I suppose we ought not to imagine that such can be the case. In ordinary cases, certainly, we ought to suppose the Pope

to do his part under God's guidance, and the Bishops their part, under the same ; and if the Council gets through to the end without either Pope or Bishops finding out that there's something not right about it, I suppose there can be no doubt that it will be a true Council."

"Whatever it may decide?"

"Yes, whatever it may decide. But I must confess that what made the most impression upon me of what I heard was the charge that the Bishops would not be free, and I should like to hear what you have to say on that point."

CHAPTER III.—"WILL THEY BE FREE?"

"I WILL speak of it, certainly," said Kingshill, "for I think myself, from what I have read, and from what I have heard Don Venanzio say, that this is at once one of the most interesting points, not in relation to this Council only, but to all Councils in general, and one also that requires explanation. I have even heard of some people here in England, who are what you, I fear, would call wild Ultramontanes, who think that Councils are superfluous just for this very reason that the Pope can do without them, and that when the Bishops meet they are as much obliged to listen to him as Universal Teacher as they are when they are dispersed. But this is a very different kind of objection from that which your friends urge. And before I say what I have to say on the subject, I must again repeat my argument from what we believe as to the promises of our Lord. These men you speak of are Catholics, not Protestants. They recognise the Pope as at least Primate of the Church, and as acting within the limits of his rightful authority in convening the Bishops, and in proposing to them the subjects on which they are to deliberate. They recognise also, as I suppose, that the Bishops are fulfilling a divinely appointed duty in assembling round the Pope, and in deliberating on those subjects, in whatever way. Here, then, we have Pope and Bishops discharging legitimate functions of the highest order on matters of the greatest importance to the Church. Have we any right, as Catholics, to suppose that under such circumstances a mischievous and unscrupulous party will be able so far to circumvent both Pope and Bishops, as to induce the first to coerce the latter, depriving them of their true liberty, and the latter to submit to be so coerced, without resistance or remonstrance, and under such coercion to decide on all those dangerous steps of which we hear so much? Would not the promises of God have failed in such a case as that?"

"I think I have heard of something of the sort happening in the old semi-Arian times," said Lloyd, "when the world woke up one morning and found itself Arian."

"But I suppose in that case there was a trick, or a surprise, and that the evil was either practically inefficient, or was corrected

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at once, and corrected by the Bishops or by the Pope? or that that was not a General Council?"

"I suppose, in the case you put, we can hardly imagine the Pope being the tool of a party, and coercing the Bishops, and the Bishops being coerced, and dangerous steps taken, as long as the promises to the Church are fulfilled."

"And now, as to the true liberty of the Bishops, as a matter of fact. You may know that the German Bishops, in their late pastoral from Fulda, speak on this point more strongly than on any other, and show real indignation at the idea that they are summoned to Rome merely to be dictated to. If you had come here a day sooner, you might have heard what your cousin the Bishop told us of the great liberty allowed to him and his colleagues when they were assembled in Rome to advise the Pope about the definition of the Immaculate Conception. I always thought it must be so, and from his account it certainly was so. I can't imagine some hundreds of Bishops taking the trouble to come from all the quarters of the globe merely to register the edicts of a despotic sovereign; and—when we consider who they are, the flower of the Catholicism of every country, men accustomed to rule, not after the fashion of French Préfets, or our own Colonial Governors, but as responsible in the first instance to God for the souls committed to their charge, men of every nation that has the tradition of individual liberty and free discussion—sturdy Britons, Irish Prelates who have had to put themselves in the front of the national battle, Frenchmen accustomed to keep the Revolution at bay, Americans from the land of 'tickets' and 'platforms' and energetic discussions of every kind—I must confess it seems to me the most absurd of all ideas to suppose that one iota of the just and ancient rights of their order can be sacrificed, not by one or two, or ten or twenty, but by all of them, especially when assembled in Council, even if we could imagine Pius IX. conceiving the idea of any such encroachment. Remember, the oath in question has a saving clause—the Bishop promises all *salvo suo ordine*. Now, this is not the first General Council, but the nineteenth, and the rights of Bishops who are members of such Councils are perfectly well ascertained, and can never be taken away or surrendered. What does strike me is that these timid Catholics are more inclined to look upon the Assembly as a Constitutional Parliament, which is in a certain sense a check on, and an opposition to, the power of a monarch, instead of a Council of Christian Bishops of which the Pope himself is the head. They forget that unity of faith is the essential characteristic of the Church, and that to suppose the Pope on the one side of a dogmatic question of faith and the body of the Episcopate on the other, is as much to suppose what cannot be as if they were to argue on the supposition of discord prevailing in Heaven itself. But even in the case of a Parliament which is a check on a monarch, there is not unrestricted liberty

or initiation of action. The members of such a Parliament are bound by an oath of allegiance to their sovereign in the first place, and I suppose, too, it would be unconstitutional or revolutionary to propose or advocate measures which would alter the fundamental settlement of the monarchy or of the country. So, I suppose, even on that analogy we might say that the fact that all the Bishops are bound by an oath to be faithful to the Holy See does not interfere with their liberty in Council, or again, that such liberty does not involve a power to bring into discussion the established traditions of antiquity, or to form any decision which is not in accordance with the faith. Such liberty as this would not be compatible with the truth of Catholicism, and all other liberties the members of the Council will have."

"I think," said Lloyd, "people lay stress on the oath of fidelity to the Holy See. It is said to make a free Council impossible."

"That depends on what you call a free Council. I have already compared the oath of the Bishops to the oath of allegiance taken by members of Parliament, which certainly does not limit their freedom within the range of Parliamentary action; but even this analogy is not quite fair. We are arguing with Catholics, and I must say again that the objection proves too much, if it proves anything, for men in their position. The oath in question, if I understand what they mean, is not a condition of admission to the Council; it is an oath taken by all Bishops at their consecration. As this oath has been taken for ages past, as well as now, if it made this Vatican Council impossible as a free assembly, it would make all free Councils impossible in the Catholic Church. If these men really think this, let them say so. This opinion implies that in one most important point the constitution of the Church has been altered already. I say just the same of another argument of the same kind which I have seen in the book into which your friends, I suspect, have been dipping. It is said that the Bishops acknowledge the Pope as their head and master, as *Ordinarius Ordinariorum* and supreme Teacher in matters of faith. In the book, indeed, it is fairly enough stated that this fact, in the view of the writer, makes any free Council impossible. But this is not the language of men who believe the ever-living Church to have all the prerogatives and functions and powers now which she ever possessed in times past, and such men are plainly inconsistent in expressing their fears about Jesuit influences and the intended coercion of the Bishops. If they tell us that the present constitution of the Church makes freedom impossible, they ought to tell us also that what they want is to revolutionise the Church as it is, not to keep it as it is, as you said, and prevent possible encroachments and alterations. I think it is clear enough that they have got beyond the limits within which the sympathies of any true Catholic can be given to them. That is what I am saying at present."

"Well," said Lloyd, "I am not sure that I can contradict you. But you said just now that there were some points which required clearing up, in your opinion, as to this very matter of the freedom of the Bishops."

"I will explain what I mean—at least, the strongest case of what I mean, for I must not preach you to death on your first afternoon with us, and besides, we must really attend to the view which I wanted to show you. But I can understand this difficulty—and it seems to me to put the question in the strongest form. The Bishops are said on the one hand to be 'judges of the faith,' 'authentic witnesses,' and this by divine right. On the other hand, the Pope is their infallible teacher in faith and morals, and this he cannot cease to be when they meet in Council. Supposing, then, as has sometimes been done, the Pope were to put before them a question of faith, as raised by some heretic, or in some other way, for their examination and discussion, and were at the same time to give them a dogmatic instruction on the same point, and even to forbid them to depart from it. If this were a merely human assembly, and if there were not a rule of faith already divinely given, according to which both Pope and Bishops must proceed, I suppose there would seem to be a contradiction here. It would seem as if the Bishops were free, because they are judges, and not free, because they must listen to their teacher. Well, one answer, I suppose, may be, that this double character of the same act on the part of the Bishops is not a contradiction in the divine economy of the Church. As the Pope cannot depart from the revelation of Christ, so the Bishops cannot depart from the doctrine laid down infallibly by the Pope. And yet both Pope and Bishops are free judges and witnesses. It is said by a great writer on the subject that their innate (*originaria*) authority of judging as to the faith always remains in the Bishops, and that they can exercise it even on matters of faith declared by Ecumenical Councils, as well as on the dogmatical constitutions of the Pope, 'to confirm and strengthen them by their own assent.' The Bishops, then, do not receive a Pontifical definition as the rest of the Faithful do. Their acceptance of it is not only an act of obedience, but a real judicial act on the faith, and is properly said to be a canonical and authoritative confirmation of it. The rest of the Faithful have no such power. But, as the Bishops have this inherent right of confirmation as judges, they must also have that of examination and of going into proofs, although it must be exercised in subordination to the chief judge. There can be no true authoritative confirmation which does not proceed from a perfect cognisance of the cause. And in this way he explains the examination of infallible decrees—either of former Councils or of Popes—by the Bishops in Council, or even dispersed. I may add that this doctrine seems to me to be wonderfully confirmed by the account of the first Council, at Jerusalem, in the Acts of

the Apostles, where St. Peter laid down the law, and yet the rest examined the facts and made the decree. And it seems absurd to say that this account of the matter makes General Councils useless—rather, it seems to me to explain at once the use and the possibility of such Assemblies. In the first place, the deliberations and the personal and collective authority of the Bishops serve to silence the cavilling of heretics, and to set forth the truth with greater majesty to the world. Nothing can be a greater confirmation, in a popular sense, even of a Pontifical definition, than the fact that it has been considered and confirmed in an assembly of all the Bishops of the Church. Even humanly speaking, the question is seen to have been set at rest for ever. Then the examination and discussion itself is full of advantage, and the Acts in which it is recorded are most valuable store-houses of authoritative statements against heresy. And besides, we ought not to forget that, though a Council is more than a mere meeting of Bishops, such as that, for instance, which took place a few years ago at Rome for the canonisations, still, if it *were* no more, it would be of immense usefulness to the Church, both on account of the visible evidence it affords of her supernatural unity and charity, and on account of the increase of fervour and zeal for the glory of God and of knowledge of the means of promoting it, which must be caused by it both in the Bishops themselves and in the Faithful whom they feed."

We had now turned homewards, and were following a path which led to the little village of Lydney, which we had almost walked round, following nearly the crest of the downs which encompass it on three sides. As we drew near the house, we overtook Gertrude and her companion, who seemed to be engaged in a little controversy of their own.

"I had rather walk barefoot a hundred miles in the other direction than go to see such things!" said Mrs. Kingshill.

"What are you talking about?" said her husband.

"Why, here's Clara telling me about what goes on at these *sciences* they talk about so much in London now."

"What, Clara, have you been to them?"

"Not exactly, uncle Charles," said Miss Lancaster, "but I have a friend who has told me what she has seen. I only want to know what to think about it all."

"Well, we shall have to hand you, as well as Lloyd here, over to Don Venanzio, I suppose. However, you shall tell us some time or other exactly what you have heard, and when we have settled the question of the Council we will go on to that of the spirits."

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Tractarianism and its Successors.

IT is almost a truism to assert that religion cannot be stationary, but it is especially interesting to trace the law of movement working outside the Church. When once an interest is kindled either for or against the truth of God, there is sure to be a rapid progress in some direction or other. Either one truth leads on to another, until the anxious inquirer attains at last to the haven of rest, or one error suggests another, until the whole edifice of religion gradually crumbles away, and the result is either a belief in natural religion only or else an entire scepticism.

This law of progress, in both its aspects, may be distinctly traced in that remarkable movement which has of late years been changing so completely the Established Church of England. Each phase of it is merely the natural development of that which preceded it. Tractarianism was the legitimate offspring of the Evangelical movement, and has in its turn found its own proper successor—or rather we should say its successors, since it is our object to show in the present article how the various elements which it contained have each produced an offspring of their own.

We suppose that we may take it for granted that the old Tractarianism is now practically dead, or, if it still lives, its main surviving representatives are the Regius Professor of Hebrew at Oxford and a few country clergymen who passed under Dr. Newman's magic influence during their early youth. But even though they remain, Tractarianism, as a body of doctrine, as a living system, has passed away, slain by the powerful hand of its own author. At the moment that Dr. Newman gave in his submission to the Catholic Church, its death-warrant was signed; each elaborate argument to prove the Catholic character of Anglicanism was practically refuted, each appeal to anti-

quity, to the Fathers, to tradition, was shown by that act to be utterly futile. Henceforward some new development must be found, some new stronghold must be occupied by the Church of England, driven as it was from the tower of defence in which it had trusted.

What, then, is the theory which has during the last twenty years been taking the place of Tractarianism? What body of men represent at the present time the leaders of the Oxford movement? Is there any definite school which has carried Tractarianism on to its legitimate development?

Probably most of our readers would answer this question by at once naming the Ritualists, and to a certain extent they would be right in so doing. In some sense Ritualism has taken the place of the old Tractarianism, and developed some of its most obvious characteristics. There is the same gradual and continual approach to certain of the observances and doctrines of the Catholic Church; there is the same desire to kindle a new life in the people of England by more frequent services and a more reverent ceremonial; there is the same appeal to an imaginary although a less remote antiquity. But yet the points of difference are so numerous, and so thoroughly affect the essence of modern Ritualism, that a more careful examination will discover to us a great gulf fixed between the two—a gulf which increases every day, and develops continually among the Ritualists peculiarities which would have been most eagerly disclaimed by the old Tractarians.

Perhaps the most striking of these is their animosity towards the Catholic Church. The nearer they approach it the more they seem to hate it. They seem honestly and sincerely to believe that any Anglican who joins the Church is necessarily a rascal; they quote the stories which are supposed to tell against Catholicism with an untiring bitterness of zeal; they are violent in denouncing the encroachments of the Papacy; they have that unreasoning hatred of Rome which implies a secret consciousness that they are fighting with an antagonist who must in the end prevail.

Thus they are gradually developing one of the marks of a distinct heresy. We are anxious to point this out, because there are many Ritualists who think that they, like the old Tractarians, are gradually struggling upwards into the Church of God. If this were so we should not find in them this bitter hatred of Catholicism. The Tractarians in their early days regarded Rome as an "erring sister," but not quite as an enemy. Tractarianism was a kind of halting-ground midway between the old Anglicanism and the Catholic Church—it was a hypothesis which had to be verified by careful tests. It failed when those tests were applied to it, and then its authors confessed that it was no abiding city. Whereas Ritualism has nothing that is tentative about it; its adherents are loud in their expression of their complete confidence in their position. The best of them, perhaps, have some misgivings, but the rank and file are troubled by no doubts. Indeed, one of their leaders has recently asserted that every day he lives increases his faith in the Church of England, and they do not scruple to say, though not in public, that to leave her is to commit the unpardonable sin against the Holy Ghost.

Side by side with this hatred of Catholicity is an amusing anxiety to imitate Catholic practices. The great ambition of the Ritualist is to repeat the Anglican Communion service in such a way, to surround it with such ceremonies and observances, as may render it undistinguishable from the Catholic Mass. Nothing gives him so much pleasure as to hear that some unfortunate Catholic has wandered by chance into St. Alban's, Holborn, and has thought that he was in a Catholic Church. When the Ritualist clergyman travels on the continent, he habitually frequents the services of the Catholic Church, not only because he considers himself a Catholic, but in order that he may perfect himself in a more careful imitation of Catholic practices. It is amusing to see the Ritualist at Notre Dame or the Cathedral of Milan. He never succeeds in an absolute conformity to the usages of Catholics; he is never quite at home in the meaning of the various bells, or in the proper manner of crossing himself at the Gospel; and he never can quite

get rid of the custom enjoined by Queen Elizabeth of saying a little preliminary prayer on first entering the church, but at the same time he might easily be mistaken for a Catholic by a superficial observer. And when he returns to England he carries with him some implement or other of Catholic ceremonial, wherewith to adorn his services at home—a processional cross, or some new candlesticks, or a banner of his patron Saint. But while the Ritualists imitate with such elaborate care the externals of Catholicism, they depart, at least in many cases, more and more from its spirit. Take, for instance, their conduct towards those in authority—towards the Bishops who, to use their language, “teach un-Catholic doctrine.” What could be more disloyal than the tone adopted towards Dr. Tait or Dr. Sumner, not only by individual clergymen, but by newspapers which represented the party? What more utterly at variance with the language of the old Tractarians? On the one hand there was dutiful respect when disrespect would have been excusable; touching humility and forgetfulness of self, when a little self-consciousness seemed almost unavoidable; loyal obedience when it must have been very hard to obey. On the other hand there is a self-satisfied dogmatism which sets at nought the advice of those in power; a wilful disobedience which seems to glory in opposing those who have at least some right to command; a determined adherence to their own private judgment which is of itself quite enough to stamp them as Protestants. What could be more opposed to the spirit of the *Apologia* than the articles in which the weekly organs of the Ritualists denounce all those who venture to differ from them?

Turning to another point of view, we cannot help remarking in the Ritualistic party the almost entire absence of any men of intellectual force. With one or two exceptions, their leaders are rather “notorious” than “distinguished”; their names are known to the public for their eccentricities, or their ingenuity in imitating Catholic services, rather than for any mental vigour or power of influencing mankind. This is especially noticeable at Oxford. There, if anywhere, we should expect to find

Ritualism triumphant, if it were the legitimate development of Tractarianism, since in Oxford the Tractarian school at one time held in its powerful grasp almost all the best ability of the University. The contributors to the *Tracts for the Times* and the *Lives of the Saints* were first-class men, or double first-classmen, and the leading set of their day. It was the Honour men, the Scholars, the young Fellows of Colleges, who fell under Dr. Newman's influence and listened so eagerly to his teaching. But now, how great a change! Among the leading men at Oxford there is not one who is in any sense a Ritualist, among College Tutors scarcely one, although several of them, especially in Conservative Colleges, still cling to the old orthodox Anglicanism. By common consent the position is abandoned as utterly untenable. In speaking of Tractarianism and Ritualism, those who are utterly removed from both always mention the former with respect and almost with reverence, whereas the latter is passed over with a feeling of intellectual pity and contempt. And if Ritualism still prevails to a considerable extent among the junior members of the University, it is an article foreign to the soil, imported in general from the influences of home or of school, and prone to wither and die before they attain to their degree. Indeed, it is considered among College Tutors to be absolutely certain that a clever man who reads hard for the Honour school of *Literæ Humaniores* will, sooner or later, forsake utterly and for ever the Ritualist teaching, however thoroughly he may have been penetrated with it in his earlier days.

We think, then, that Ritualism cannot in any sense be called the legitimate offspring of Tractarianism. If its child at all, it is a mis-shapen and deformed infant, whom its parent would be very eager to disclaim. If this is so, where are we to look for the proper development of the Oxford movement? At present we are, of course, speaking of something outside the Church, and therefore it is in the Established Church of England that we must pursue our researches.

The principal outcome of Tractarianism has been to destroy, once and for ever, the position of the Church

of England as a dogmatic body. As the best and ablest of its votaries took refuge, one by one, under the banners of the Holy See, men began to recognise that the only tenable form of dogmatism is to be found in the teaching of Rome. Gradually during the last thirty years this belief has been spreading, until at the present day it is hardly an exaggeration to say that all who think for themselves arrive at last at two paths, of which they find themselves compelled to choose one or other—either a belief in absolute truth which leads men to Rome, or a denial of the absolute character of truth, and a substitution for it of an assertion of its relative nature. In this latter case, they have open to them an infinity of by-paths, each of which leads to what Catholics believe to be deadly error. Now it is obvious that all those who remain in the Church of England, and follow out their opinions to their logical conclusions, must of necessity adopt this latter alternative. And when once adopted, in whatever form, it renders their position to them tenable and satisfactory. Everything is henceforward regarded in a new light. The formulas and formularies of the Church of England present no difficulty to them, because they regard them as *relatively* true—*i.e.*, true to the authors, and from the point of view of the age in which they lived; true as the best expression which was then possible of an universal idea, which assumes a different form now. Assuming this, they find no difficulty in signing almost any kind of test which may be put before them, and in signing it with thorough honesty and a perfectly good conscience. To them the Thirty-nine Articles are a valuable protest against an ever-encroaching dogmatism, statements necessarily imperfect and incompatible with modern ideas, but from an historical point of view a real expression of truth. To them the general doctrine of their Church, overlaid as it is with what they regard as an inconsistent crust of dogma, contains the valuable germ of an universal notion which the progress of thought will gradually develope. And we may remark in passing that such men as these are very much misunderstood by Catholics, who seem unable to put themselves into their

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intellectual position, and therefore rather unfairly condemn them as dishonest. When once a man is penetrated with a thorough conviction that there is no such thing as absolute truth, all the rest follows as a necessary corollary from that proposition. Nay, we may go further, and say that for all those outside the Church this is the rational and reasonable standing-ground—far more rational and reasonable than any dogmatic position which can be occupied by Protestants, at least in the present day.

Indeed, we might almost say that this position is in the same sense the legitimate successor of Tractarianism within the Church of England, for, dogmatism being driven out, it was necessary that some form of opinion should be discovered which would satisfy men of ability and honesty who still remained outside the Catholic Church. Now this want is supplied by the various forms of modern Liberalism which are now prevalent in England and are adopted by a large majority of the ablest men of the rising generation—not, perhaps, in their extremest form, that is still to come—often with considerable modifications and restrictions; still they are adopted in some shape or other. This is particularly evident at the Universities among the present generation of Tutors, and still more among the younger Fellows of Colleges. They are, as a rule, men of ability; they are certainly thoroughly honest and disinterested, they are large-minded and generous, hard-working and conscientious. As compared with the Anglo-dogmatic school, they show an enormous preponderance of intellectual power, and no small superiority of moral force; in all these respects, they tread in the steps of the old Tractarians.

And if their opinions are less akin to Catholicism than the opinions of the High Church men of modern Anglicanism, this is merely because they are more logical. We cannot blame them for it; on the contrary, it shows that they are not afraid honestly to carry out to its legitimate conclusion the Protestant position. If we blame them at all, it is for their refusal to submit to the authority of the Church. But this once granted, they are perfectly right in refusing to believe in dogma. Their position is

thus a far more consistent one than that of the ordinary Anglican. For both the one and the other hold on the basis of private judgment certain religious opinions. The modern Liberal confesses that they are opinions and nothing more; whereas the dogmatist quite unjustifiably gives to these opinions the name of faith. Both the one and the other found their opinions on self; but the former allows this, and therefore refuses to condemn those who differ from him. The latter presumptuously claims for his own right of private judgment the right of infallibility, and therefore condemns bitterly all those whose opinions are at variance with his own, Catholics and Liberals alike. It is quite painful to hear him denounce Professor Jowett or Dean Stanley, instead of respecting them as men whose intellectual position, at least, is superior to his own.

We must of course say that we do not mean for a moment to deny that the logical conclusions of Protestantism are in many respects more subversive of all that is good than the illogical position which is taken up by those who, being outside the Church, still cling to at least some of her dogmas. There are doubtless at the present moment hundreds of pious Anglicans who in good faith cling to the teaching of their childhood, and serve God in all humility and simplicity of heart, Protestants indeed in name, but Catholics in the sight of God. But each day that passes over our heads makes this position more and more impossible. Men of inactive minds may linger in it, but it belongs properly to the unlearned, the *paganis* of modern society, while for men of cultivation, for those who have passed through the higher education, such a standing-ground is fast vanishing. Tractarianism has cut it away from under their feet. It is the sad necessity of the present day that men of intellect outside the Church give up one by one the old landmarks, losing sight even of those glimpses of divine light which reached them through the formularies of Anglicanism. Deeply indeed we must lament it—still more deeply must we deplore that so few of them find their way into the only home of truth—but still it is not for us to condemn those hungry searchers after truth. “They that say such things

declare plainly that they seek a country." Those of us who have ourselves known the misery of doubt cannot but have more intellectual sympathy with such than with the self-satisfied dogmatism of the modern Ritualists.

It will now be obvious to our readers that neither of the two opposing parties in the Established Church of England can be called the proper representative of the Tractarianism which has now passed away. If one of them has an external resemblance to it, the other is far more akin to it intellectually ; if the one was its most bitter opponent while it still existed, the other is wholly different from it on most essential points. We still have to look elsewhere for its full development.

And where should we look save in that haven of rest in which many of the ablest and best of the Tractarians one by one found shelter ; in which alone they could slake their thirst for truth and satisfy their desires after God ? It is in the Catholic Church, and not in the wilds of Protestantism, that we shall find the healthy offspring of the Tractarian movement, freed from all those accidental blemishes which defaced the parent. For true Tractarianism was never un-Catholic in spirit ; it was no heresy, it was rather an eager grasping after truth, it was the longing desire of those who hungered after justice to satisfy their want, it was the cry of the child seeking its parent, it was the attempt of the lost traveller to reach the distant light. He who was in one sense its author unconsciously wrote its history even before it saw the day, when, on his little boat tossed to and fro in the Straits of Bonifacio, he penned those lines ever to be remembered by all who have sought and found the truth :—

Lead, kindly light, amid the encircling gloom
Lead thou me on :
The night is dark, and I am far from home,
Lead thou me on.
Keep thou my steps ; I do not ask to see
The distant path ; one step enough for me.

The Basilica of St. Peter.

IN how many senses is Rome the real centre of Christendom ? To the Catholic Church herself Rome is that one central point which, as a sun, controls, enlightens, and animates her faith, her obedience, and her love. The non-Catholic, while affecting total independence and indifference, cannot help constantly showing that it would be a vain attempt to disconnect his own Christianity from the religion of Rome, since his creed is made up of Protestantism against Rome on the one hand, and of a definite belief which he can trace up to nothing but Rome on the other. And the world at large, while it heaps plentiful abuse on Rome, bears unconscious witness to her real influence on the world's history and the world's policy, by being not less unable to crush, than it is to keep silence, on her doings. Within a very short time Rome will become, as much perhaps as she ever has been, the centre of universal interest and attention. Hatred and animosity will no doubt blaze out with renewed violence, but in spite of themselves, the world, and even Protestantism, will be forced to think and write about what is going on in the ancient city. In Rome herself all eyes and footsteps will turn towards that glorious Basilica whence the Nineteenth Ecumenical Council will take its name, and in which it is about to be held. And yet again, even within the Basilica, there remains a point which the devotion of all true hearts will seek out, the "umbilicus" of the Church's life and development, the "confession" of her faith and hope, the "foundation" on which the divine hands of her Supreme Head have built her strength and permanence—that shrine in which we may firmly hope will remain undisturbed till the Day of Resurrection, the most blessed relics of the Prince of the Apostles and the Vicars of Christ.

The history of the Basilica of St. Peter runs side by side with that of the Church's freedom and chequered prosperity. But the history of devotion to St. Peter's "Confession," or shrine, is coeval with the Church's very existence. Till the time of Constantine, the Saint's body was of immediate and easy access, and its plain, simple burial-place admitted of no very elaborate description. But his relics truly shared the fortunes of the Church, and from the moment that she went forth boldly from the recesses of the Catacombs, and numbered Emperors and nobles amongst her subjects, those relics have been approached only through a magnificent temple, which, as queen of churches, has

been a shrine worthy of the Prince of the Apostles. The name Vatican was given to the whole plain skirting the left bank of the Tiber as it bends round in front of St. Peter's. It extended as far as the Janiculum itself, and hence has arisen some doubt as to the exact spot on which the martyrdom of St. Peter took place, but we may safely conclude that it was not very far removed from the scene of his burial. St. Clement his third successor in the Pontificate, St. Marcellus a Priest, St. Apuleius another of his disciples, together with SS. Anastasia and Basilissa afterwards martyred under Nero, came, we are told, and took down the body of the Apostle, and having washed it in wine mingled with myrrh, aloes, and spikenard, and having carefully embalmed it, wrapped it in fine linen, and placed it in a marble urn which they had before strewn with leaves of laurel and ivy as a symbol of their faith in the future life. With many fervent prayers, they deposited the sacred remains in the Vatican cemetery, close to the circus of Nero and Caligula, the temple of Apollo, and the terebinth tree of heathen augury and mystic rites, with the Via Triumphalis on its left, and the Aurelian Way on the right; and they placed at the same time the foot of the sarcophagus toward the east, and marked by an inscription the place where remains so precious were buried.*

Thus for three hundred years remained the body of St. Peter in the simplicity of its first sepulture, but for the holy care of St. Anacletus, ordained by him and afterwards his successor, who in the commencement of the second century built over his tomb a little chapel or oratory to distinguish it from the resting-places of other Martyrs and early Christians, and to secure the erection of an altar, that a place already so consecrated might be rendered still more sacred by the presence of the Holy Mysteries.† Though, however, there was little to attract the eye, though all the traditions of the locality were Pagan—for there had stood, as we are told, the farms of Mutius Scaevola and of Lucius Cincinnatus, the villas of Geta, and of Galba, of Regulus Causidicus, and a host of other well-known families—yet a new tradition was to spring from, and grow round about, the modest chapel. In the midst of ruins of temples to Jove, Esculapius, Faunus, and Mars; of monuments to Romulus, Numa, Scipio, and Valerian among others; of the baths of Septimius and Antoninus, of the arenas of Nero and Hadrian; and of the tombs of Mincianus, Numidicus, and Marcus Aurelius, appeared in strong contrast crowds of Christian worshippers, the first of a long stream which has never ceased to flow in. They came from the country all

* *I Sepolcri dei Rom. Pontefici.*, per Aless. D'Achille, vol. i., pag. 3. *Istoria della Basilica Vaticana.*, del Filippo, M. Mignanti, c. ii., pag. 11. *Roma Sotterranea Cristiana*, del Cav. Giov. Battista de Rossi, vol. i., pag. 135. Ciacc., vol. i., pag. 71. Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, l. ii., c. xxiv. Bosio, *R. S.*, 27. Ferrar, *Catal SS. Ital.*

† *Lib. Pontif. in Anac.*, sec. 11. Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, l. i., c. xxv.

round, they came from the extreme parts of the Roman Empire ; and, if we may credit the Acts of different Martyrs, they came from far beyond it, from Egypt, from the South of Africa, and from the distant parts of Persia, even so early as the year 270. And touching in its simplicity is the story how Simplicius, Constantine, and Victorian, on being brought to Rome from Gaul, that they might consummate their martyrdom in the imperial city, managed to escape from the hands of their guards with the single intention of praying beside the tomb of St. Peter, and how their heathen guards, undisturbed by their disappearance, at once took the road to the Vatican, without the slightest doubt that they should find their prisoners awaiting them there.

But now approaches one who is to introduce a new era in the history of the Church, the Emperor Constantine—himself a victory gained from Paganism. In the year 312, or according to some 324, close to the Milvian Bridge or Ponte Molle, he had overcome his adversary Maxentius, and had seen the famous vision of the miraculous Cross in the heavens ; and now, still wearing the pure white robe of the newly-baptised, for it is but the eighth day after his baptism, he draws near and bids the Pope, St. Silvester I., consecrate that space which had been the area of the temple of Apollo, and lay alongside the huge circus of Nero, and there he places the body of St. Peter in a case of silver enclosed within a sarcophagus of bronze.* Then over it he causes a chamber to be built faced interiorly with plates of solid gold, and over this sepulchre he raises a golden cross, one hundred and fifty pounds in weight, and bearing this inscription—

CONSTANTINUS . AUG . ET . HELENA . AUG .
HANC . DOMUM . REGALEM . SIMILI . FULGORE .
CORUSCANS . AULA . CIRCUMDAT .

And because no eye was henceforth to penetrate within, or look upon those sacred remains, he so far satisfies the pious devotion of the Faithful of all ages, as to leave open a square aperture above this chamber, called the *umbilicus*, that, looking down from the four pillars supporting a baldacchino above, the pious might be able to see the lid of the bronze sarcophagus beneath, while the gallery that surrounded all bore the inscription—

Quod duce te Mundus surrexit ad astra triumphans,
Hanc Constantinus vitor tibi condidit aulam. †

Thus stood from the first the *Confession* of St. Peter—the shrine of the great Confessor to Christ by his martyrdom ; and above it began to rise at once the first Basilica of St. Peter's, the noble gift of the first Christian Emperor to the Church.

“Old St. Peter's” was of the true basilica shape, and would have

* Anas, *Vit. Pont.*, 19.

† And. Fulvius, *Antiq.*, l. ii, cap. x.

reminded us rather of the Lateran, or of St. Mary Major's, or still more perhaps of St. Paul's on the Ostian Way. Comparing it in general terms with the modern structure, the church itself, together with its unusually large portico or cloisters, and its many side-chapels, covered nearly as much ground as does the present St. Peter's, and occupied about the same site, having been placed a little in advance of it. We must indeed regard it as shorn of, or rather, as having never possessed, the unrivalled piazza that now leads up to St. Peter's, but instead of this it did possess an approach still more imposing in length, though certainly not swelling out in the same graceful proportions. The once famous portico was a long covered way conducting to the Basilica from the other side of the Tiber, and having its starting-point in the Arch of Gratian where the Church of S. Celso now stands. This entrance to the portico must have been erected after the year 379. It was the work of royal piety and munificence, as we gather from the inscription on its front: "Imppp. Cæsares DDD. NNN. Gratianus, Valentinianus, Theodosius, Pii, Felices, Semper Augusti, Arcam Ad Concludendum Opus Omne Porticum Maximorum Aeterni Nominis Sui Pecunia Propria Fieri Ornarique Iusserunt." There must indeed have been even in that early time a vast concourse of the Faithful to render so great a work necessary and useful, instead of being a mere folly. It crossed the river by the *Aelian* Bridge, known as the Ponte S. Angelo. From this it branched out in two different directions, one limb of it following the course of the present Via di Borgo Vecchio, the other stretching itself along the bank of the Tiber. As this last gave signs of early decay, its foundations were made doubly secure by that noble contributor to the glories of St. Peter, Pope Adrian I. Could we have imagined ourselves actually passing along this portico, with its single passage 3,300 Roman palms in length, flanked by marble columns that supported a leaden roof and were bound together by a solid wall, or afterwards, when it swelled out into being a triple passage-way with two new rows of pillars along its whole length, as the former dimensions of the portico had been wholly insufficient for the numbers that thronged it; could we have done this, we should have been more convinced how time-honoured is the devotion to St. Peter.

Close up to the great steps leading into the Basilica this double-mouthed portico conducted the Faithful, as they passed from its cool shade and gazed for the first time, it may be, on the mass of buildings before them. All that we can do now is to try and give in words a picture of the church of the Emperor Constantine, when, enriched by the addition of many a princely gift after his day, it stood out against the bright blue Italian heaven, or beneath the noon-day sun dazzled the eye by the brilliance of its gold and silver, of its pillars and mosaics, a complete and noble work.

The ancient Basilica, like the modern, could boast of a large piazza, then as frequently crowded, as now, by a vast concourse of people. In the centre of this stood a handsome fountain, erected by Pope St. Damasus, adorned by him with marbles and pillars and a large basin of alabaster, and supplied by water that in its course filtered through the cemetery of the Vatican. On passing this, the eye was arrested by a campanile, or bell-tower, rising into the air on either side. That on the right was of great size and singular beauty, and, if we are to take in a literal sense the words of Anastasius (*in Gregor. IV.*), it was adorned in part with gold, and in part with silver. It was rich too in marble and mosaic, and in a famous bronze cock covered with gold, which now crowns a large clock in the sacristy of St. Peter's. The campanile was square in shape, and was raised in six tiers of building, each with six windows ornamented with pillars. The whole was capped by a round cupola. On the Feast of the Apostles, the campanile was brilliantly illuminated. The corresponding one on the left was added by Adrian I, for the sake of greater symmetry and effect. During five hundred years this tower with its peal of bells lasted intact, but towards the end of the Pontificate of Boniface VIII. it was burnt down, and its bells melted and destroyed. After having been restored and supplied with bells double in weight, it was in 1352 struck by lightning, and its peal dissolved by the heat, and so the whole work of restoration had to be repeated. A flight of steps in five divisions that contained five steps in each, some of marble and others of porphyry, led up to the level of the wide and deep portico, and through this, with its four vestibules and large cloisters or corridors on each of its four sides, the Basilica had to be approached. In former times, when people were not so afraid of being seen in an attitude of prayer, the humility and devotion of faithful pilgrims led them to ascend these steps on their knees, and holding lighted tapers in their hands, sheltered from the burning sun by roofs which the care of Pope Symmachus had placed over the two extremities of the steps, beside which stood, very much as they do now, two statues of St. Peter and St. Paul. Above these steps was a large open space, 200 palms long, according to Ciampinus and Oldoini, and paved with rare marble, where many an ancient Pope was crowned, where Emperors, surrounded by their Court, did not disdain to receive from the hands of the Pope the insignia of their rule, where Kings were met by the Sovereign Pontiff, and from which, on certain solemnities, the Papal Benediction was given to the people. In more recent times, however, about the year 1484 Innocent VIII. built, over the end of this open space to the right, a loggia with a handsome balustrade, supported by five rich pillars, in order that the solemn Benediction might be given from a more elevated position.

At the left extremity of this same space, Honorius I. built a

church in honour of St. Apollinaris, which was also called "Palmata," because it had been erected close to the spot where, in the Pagan circus of Nero, palms had been distributed to the victors in the several games. Returning to the centre of the first open space or vestibule, a second or inner vestibule was gained by a large central door, having one of equal size on each side of it; all three were framed in by four very lofty marble columns, destined afterwards, at the order of Pope Paul V., to grace the fountain of Acqua Paola. Perfect architectural symmetry was preserved, for each central door led to a corresponding central door opposite it, till the Basilica itself had been entered, when the eye was naturally directed on in the same straight line to the high altar itself. The three outer doors were of very ancient workmanship in metal, and were said by Anastasius to have been brought by Adrian I. from Perugia; while above them in letters of gold, or according to some, of silver, were inscribed the names of the provinces, kingdoms, and cities, that had been bestowed on the Holy See by their rulers, and were held as fiefs on the payment of a certain tribute. Amongst these occurred the names of England, Ireland, Scotland, France, Portugal, Spain, Denmark, Poland, Switzerland, Saxony, and Norway. Above these names again we find in the wall a most ancient mosaic, representing the Saviour seated on a throne, supported by St. Peter and St. Paul and by Angels and Saints on each side. Within these doors stood the penitents of the first degree, begging with tears in their eyes the prayers of those who entered. On the right of the doors stood the lowest tier of the campanile already described, and on the left the splendid church or chapel of S. Maria in Turri, so called as standing beneath the more modern campanile built by Adrian. This chapel contained a large statue of the Blessed Virgin, as to which tradition recorded that when Sergius I. had it transferred to the Basilica of St. John Lateran, it was miraculously brought back during the night to its former position. As this event enkindled fresh devotion to it, the chapel which held the statue was greatly enriched, especially by a fine mosaic on its outer wall, representing the Saviour seated on a throne covered with richest gems, and encircled with rays of light, holding out His right hand in the act of blessing, and having in His left a book bearing the text, "Ego sum resurrectio et vita." Around were Angels and Saints offering to Him their crowns.

One step past this chapel ushered the visitor into the corridor which ran round the four sides of the large square portico, and bounding its central area, gave to it the name of the quadriportico. The side first entered presented three doors of bronze in front, and was without covering above. The central door was crowned with another of those mosaics in which the ancient Basilica seems to have been as rich as the new. This time it was the famed Navicella de Pietro, the work of Giotto da Bondone, one of the first artists of his day. It represented the bark of

St. Peter tossed about amongst the waves, and the cost of it was 2,200 gold florins. In strange contrast with the beauties of this work of art, must have been the groups of old and decrepid people, of sellers of cheap beads and medals, who took up their position on either side, and by their importunity were, doubtless, a sad distraction to those who wished to examine the fine old paintings and mosaics with which the walls were covered.

And now we are introduced into a new line of thought by the allegorical character given to the interior area of the ancient portico. This was 235 palms long by 200 in breadth, and was named Il Paradiso, as being typical of the earthly Eden, while the Basilica itself was the type of Heaven. True to this type, the area was, in its earliest history, planted with symbolical trees, with palms, olives, and cypresses, with the rose, the citron, and the vine. And in later times its allegorical decoration was retained, when the living trees were replaced by their representatives on the walls in marbles and mosaics. At the left hand corner of this area, as you enter, stood a mausoleum supposed to have been that of the Emperor Honorius, in which also, it is said, were buried Valentinian III. and, if we may credit Paul the Deacon, Sicalgaita wife of Robert Guiscard, Cadwalla, and the English King Offa. Cancellieri (*De Secret.*, p. 666) adds that this mausoleum was of the most sumptuous description, rich in marbles, and roofed in with the rarest porphyry. Each side of the area, or Paradiso, was supported by thirteen columns with Corinthian capitals, surmounted by an architrave skirting the roof of the corridor above. Rich, however, as all this was, and worthy to suggest an earthly paradise, the typical character was scarcely so fully carried out in the fresh crowds of the poor, the maimed, and the infirm, who, we may presume, were as faithful in their attendance on the festas of ancient as of modern Rome, and who found a privileged rendezvous in the beautiful Paradiso of the Vatican.

The most prominent object within this area, before it was adorned with marbles instead of trees, was a grand fountain placed in the centre by St. Damasus for the refreshment of pilgrims, and blessed each year on the vigil of the Epiphany.* The fountain itself consisted of what might be best described as a large pine cone planted on a solid base, and made of bronze. From its leaves and summit poured forth a plentiful supply of water, rising to some height, and then splashing down into a shell of porphyry placed beneath. The whole was surmounted by a canopy of bronze of convex form, having a Cross in its centre, and supported by eight Corinthian columns, which were at first of marble, and were afterwards changed for the more precious porphyry. Above these was a handsome architrave, crowned on each of its four sides by a rounded tympanum on which were sculptured two peacocks facing one another, and on the

* Mamachi, *Accad. Rom. d'Arch.*, vol. ii., p. 421.

architrave the Greek letters A.X.O., indicating Christ as the beginning and end of all things. Doves, lambs, and baskets filled with bread were also carved on it, as typical of the Holy Spirit, of Christ Himself, and of the Blessed Eucharist. As this fountain proved to be more ornamental than useful to the heated and wearied pilgrims, another of plainer form was erected behind it. About the year 708 Pope Constantine placed in this porch stained glass windows representing the six General Councils of the Church, when he heard that the heretical Emperor Philip had caused similar windows to be removed from the Church of St. Sophia at Constantinople. In 1099 the portico was much injured by fire, and was restored by Pascal II. But during the reign of St. Gregory VII. it sustained a siege, suffered fresh injuries at the hands of Frederick Barbarossa under Alexander III., and was at last reduced to such a state of hopeless ruin at the commencement of the fifteenth century by the troops of Ladislaus King of Naples, that it was decided to remove it altogether.

Let us place ourselves in imagination before the ancient Basilica itself, after the last remains of the quadriportico that stood in front of it had been carried off, and we shall be enabled to gain a juster view of its proportions, and of the richness of the mosaics on its façade. The ancient church was, as we have said, of the true basilica form. The main part of the building rose up square-shaped before the eye, measuring 220 palms in height from the ground to the summit of the Cross which crowned its roof. The façade was divided into four compartments. Thus, from the floor to the top of the portico it measured 60 palms, and from the porch to a line of frieze-work marking the level of the roof of the aisles it was 45 palms. The third compartment reached from this line to the tympanum and carried the front 75 palms higher, while the tympanum together with its cross above measured exactly 40 palms more. On this façade, which, after rising straight upward to a considerable height, bent out slightly and gracefully to meet the extremities of the architrave of the tympanum on either side, was a rich design of mosaic work and ornamentation. The lower part, immediately above the roof of the portico, was pierced by three large handsome windows with rounded arch filled in with Gothic tracery, each window being 22 palms in height by 14 in width. On either side of the centre window two figures, exceeding it slightly in height, were worked in mosaic, and, as they stood in flowing drapery, they held up their crowns towards the person of our Lord, who was represented in a higher compartment. On the outer side of the two exterior windows groups of five persons were seen gazing upwards with heads uncovered, and in an attitude of devotion. Close beside these windows occurred the arms of Eugenius IV. and Nicholas V., placed there because they had restored the mosaics, and across the whole width of the wall was the inscription—

Ceu sol fervescit sidus super omne nitescit,
 Et velut est aurum rutilans super omne metallum
 Doctrinaque fide calet et sic pollet ubique
 Ista domus petra supra fabricata quieta.

Above the border of frieze-work we have mentioned were three other windows, corresponding exactly with those in the compartment beneath, and of the same proportions and design. On either side of these were painted the four Evangelists, as was evident from the symbol of each depicted above their heads, immediately below the architrave of the tympanum. Rising from the central one of these three windows, our Blessed Lord was represented seated on a throne, surrounded by a bright nimbus behind. His feet rested on a cushion, and while the right hand was raised as in act of blessing, the left grasped the Book of Life. Beside the foot of the throne knelt a small figure of Gregory IX., whose name was inscribed above him. The representation of the Saviour was very majestic in size and bearing, to which still more effect was given by the smaller size of St. Peter and St. Paul, who stood beside our Lord, and seemed engaged in pointing Him out to those who approached. A wheel window of 14 palms diameter occupied the centre of the tympanum above, which was not otherwise ornamented than by a marble Cross of Greek form, still preserved in the crypt of St. Peter's, along with a great many other relics of the old Basilica.* The gable ends of the two side aisles would have been quite plain but for a door in each with rounded arch but without ornament, beside which, as though inscribed at random, were to be read, to the left of the nave the name *Hierusalem* in two lines, and to the right of it, in three lines, the word *Bethleem*.

Letting the eye descend again to the entrance itself into the Basilica, it was arrested by five door-ways admitting into the church from the inner porch, that had formed the fourth side of the quadriportico, and which contained, under a small canopy opposite the central door of the church, a marble statue of the great Apostle, with his right hand raised in blessing, and holding in his left the double keys, while his feet rested on two lions, symbolical of vigilance and fidelity. This statue was, on great feasts, clothed in pontifical vestments, as the bronze statue of St. Peter within the Basilica is vested at the present day. On either side of the three central doors were two other doors of equal height, measuring 24 palms by 14. These bore the titles of Giudonea and del Guidizio, for the very simple reason, though it has scarcely, perhaps, been suggested by the sound, that through the right-hand door the guides were wont to introduce strangers, as admitting them to the best view of the interior, and by the door on the left, and by it alone, were dead bodies allowed to be brought in. The great central entrances had their distinctive names also; that one which immediately faced the Confession of

* Torrigio, *Sacra Grotte Vaticane*, p. 155.

St. Peter and the high altar was called the *porta Regia*, because by it Kings and royal personages were admitted, or *Argentea*, because it had been cased in silver in 590 by St. Gregory I., while Honoriūs I. did the same for the doors—of equal size, 29 palms in height by 16 wide—on either side of it, named respectively *la porta Romana* and *la porta Ravennana*, for the reason that by the one the inhabitants of Rome, by the other those living in the *Trastevere* and called *Ravennati*, had their right of entrance. We must not pass over the splendid statue in silver-gilt placed above the great central door, which represented our Lord Jesus Christ, and was the gift of St. Leo III., having above it two large crosses and the double keys cast in iron, and surrounded with iron bulbs, that held clusters of lamps when the relic of the veil of Veronica was solemnly visited by the Archconfraternities of the city. Not without interest is a slab of porphyry before the chief doorway, beneath which, according to a curious and constant tradition, our own Venerable Bede was buried. Opposite the entrance-door to the left by which funerals entered, and between two pillars of the portico, might have been seen the tomb of St. Gregory the Great, until the year 827, when his relics were transferred by Gregory IV. to an altar richly inlaid with silver, and supported by small pillars of the same metal. This new altar was raised within a chapel entered from the same extremity of the portico, and lately changed by Gregory from its former use as a sacristy into a richly-ornamented church, divided by a double row of columns. It was from this very place that the sacred vessels had been carried off by the soldiers of Alaric, and to it that they were restored. In the reign of Benedict III., the grateful remembrance of certain Englishmen presented as a gift to the altar of St. Gregory a precious slab of solid silver. But in 1462 Pius II. again removed the body of the father of English Catholicity to another altar, which he had erected in order to place in it the head of St. Andrew.

Having entered by one of the doors lately described, we will imagine that the traveller of a time long since passed away sees before him the noble proportions of the interior of the Basilica. His first glance takes in long ranges of pillars, and of windows, and of the heavy-beamed roof. Through these pillars, turning to either side, he catches sight of another row of columns supporting rounded arches, and mingling with the lesser pillars of various monuments in pleasing harmony. Before him a brighter light reveals the free spaces of the transepts or transverse nave, and beyond that, again, he sees the twelve twisted columns of the Confession, and between them the glitter of the high altar, above which rise the pillars of the throne. All these he sees in a general survey. And what are the real measurements of the building before him? The four rows of columns, dividing the building into five naves, are 88 in all, and in each row are 22 pillars, each one being of the Corinthian order. Over the capitals of the columns

of the larger nave runs the massive architrave, sculptured in Parian marble, which Nicholas III. covered with mosaics and adorned with medallions of the Popes. Above this architrave is a large gallery, protected by a solid framework five palms deep, whence the wall passes up to the roof. The walls themselves, to the right and to the left, are divided into three tiers of compartments, and these are subdivided by 24 pilasters. The two lower tiers contain histories from the Old and New Testaments, richly painted. The highest tier is subdivided by the eleven larger windows of 22 palms by 14, that on either side give light to the nave, and this tier depicts the life and death of St. Peter and St. Paul. Between the windows and the roof a richly-ornamented cornice in three bands passes along and blends with the transepts in the distance. On the inner wall above the five large door-ways the visitor or devout pilgrim sees, as he looks round, figures of the Evangelists and of St. Peter and St. Paul, colossal in size and beautifully painted. These are separated from each other by the six windows of the façade, and below them is a famous work by Pietro Cavallini. Between the pillars of the nave are gathered up the hangings, which, according to the custom of the time, divided the men's side of the church from that of the women, a separation carried to the extent of assigning a particular part for matrons, widows, maidens, and Religious. In this middle nave also, only slightly in advance of the entrance, is the place for the order of penitents called *Stantes*.

It would be vain to enumerate all the monuments and side altars which gradually come into sight, along the length and in the side chapels of the Basilica. In front of the third pillar on either side the eye of our supposed traveller detects two very plain-looking marble basins raised on pedestals, and containing holy water. Beyond these, to the right and left, stand out two altars larger than the rest, and more elaborately decorated with pillars and with other bronze and marble ornaments. The altar to the left was erected by Pelagius II. in honour of SS. Simon and Jude; that on the left is dedicated to the holy Apostles Philip and James, and seems to have been first connected with the name of St. Leo IV. A little beyond these the eye is again arrested by two altars, also opposite one another. That on the left claims first notice, for it is the altar of our Lady delle Puerere, and stands out boldly with its pillars and entablature. The altar on the right is more massive still and contains the relics of the Martyrs Processus and Martinianus, found in the catacomb of St. Agatha. It is covered with mosaics and emblematic paintings, and is encircled by a heavy balustrade wrought in brass; two high pillars support an urn above, brilliant with mosaics and precious metals. The apse of this altar bears silver medallions of the two Martyrs, and three silver-gilt statues of great weight, representing Jesus Christ and the Martyrs to whom the altar is dedicated. The whole background is of mingled silver and marble, and this is

surmounted by an architrave and arches, all again of silver. In short, no expense or care has been spared by Pascal I. in its erection. But that which, perhaps, gives a still more decided character to this chapel or enclosed altar, is that both in its former position in the transept and in this new one it contains within it the bronze statue of St. Peter, a statue so famous that it deserves to have a separate notice. Though it belongs to the history of the modern Basilica also, yet it comes with greater claim under our description of the ancient Basilica that preceded it.

Attributed, as it has been by some, to the era of Constantine, there is the highest and fullest authority for saying that it was executed from the metal of a statue of Jupiter Capitolinus at the order of St. Leo the Great, to commemorate his bloodless victory over Attila, King of the Huns, when above the person of the Pope Attila saw in vision another Pope, St. Peter, threatening him if he did not listen to the persuasions of St. Leo. This statue was placed at first in the monastery of St. Martin, that stood outside the Basilica in the angle between the north transept and the apse, but it was afterwards transferred to St. Peter's.* An attempt has been frequently made to throw discredit on this statue, by calling it simply a statue of Capitoline Jove modified to look like a Christian work of art, and hence only a fresh proof of the close approximation between the Christianity of Rome and real Paganism. Were it, however, that which it is accused of being, we can see no damaging result in the full admission of such a fact, except, indeed, the implied audacity of Christianity in monopolising to itself any work of art that had been consecrated by the touch of Paganism. But the accusation is only another evidence that, as prejudice can blind a man to his own violation of principle, it can blind him to the sacrifice of his own credit as a connoisseur, for this statue has not the slightest mark of Pagan art about it, but, on the contrary, bears every mark of the stern and stiff treatment of the early Christian school.

If we, once more, imagine ourselves passing down the nave of the ancient Basilica, there is nothing that attracts our attention till we reach the transept, where the chief objects of beauty and interest are gathered together. Not only do the four rows of pillars, that line the nave, end in double columns and handsome pilasters, but two famous altars are sheltered by them. On the left hand stands the oratory or chapel of Gregory III., and the reason for its being so richly stored with the relics of holy Martyrs and Virgins brought from every part of the world, is that it was erected as a reparation to God and to His Saints for all the injuries and insults heaped on the sacred remains of the Saints by the fury of the Iconoclasts in the East. There are here two altars, one of which is dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, whose statue placed above it is covered with most precious jewels, and

* Turrig., *I Sagri Trofei Romani*, in fine. Maffceus Veggius, *De reb. Antiq. Basil.*

is an object of especial veneration to the Faithful. On the other side of the nave is the still more spacious chapel of St. Pastor, divided by six columns into three small naves.

But we are now standing in the transept, and before we examine the Confession and high altar, which are the centre of the whole—the jewel, as it were, enshrined in this rich casket, we turn to the left, for our eye has been arrested by the magnificent monument of Paul III., standing out so boldly in its isolated position just within the nave. The Pope is seated on a throne placed above an urn of Nero Antico. Two children bear up the inscription of the monument, and four Angels are resting at its base. An invitation to design this monument gave to Michael Angelo the opportunity of doing a graceful act, by which he ceded its execution to Guglielmo della Porta. To our left is the ancient pulpit or *ambone* from which the Deacon used to sing the Gospel in the Mass, and, just between ourselves and it, stands the large candelabrum of marble, holding, as it is thought, not only the Paschal candle, but a light ever burning in honour of the Apostle. Beyond these the view is bounded in the distance by a triple arch, which, being in a line with the exterior wall of the nave, enhances to the eye the greater depth of the transept. As the sight travels back over marble and brass-work of every variety towards the high altar, it pauses to notice the altar of St. Leo, for it recognises the well-known representation of modern times—the Blessed Virgin holding her Divine Infant in her arms. Before, however, we can allow ourselves to fix our attention on the Confession of St. Peter's in front of us, we must turn round to glance at the leading objects in the transept to our right. Close by us as we do so stands a lofty twisted column, said to be one of the twelve which adorned the temple of Solomon at Jerusalem, and which Constantine brought to Rome for the decoration of his Basilica. Through the triple arch at the end appears in face of us the ancient baptismal font, an ample vase of most precious alabaster, sculptured with the highest art and richness; and, corresponding with the altar of our Lady and Child just described, is on this side the chapel of the Holy Cross, as ancient as it is lavishly adorned. Four pillars of choicest porphyry guard the four corners of its altar and support its elegant architrave, which serves as the base of an urn of porphyry holding within it a large relic of the true Cross, inclosed in a case of gold enriched with painting and mosaic. This chapel we owe to Pope Symmachus, and its restoration to St. Leo III., who also encased the altar with sheets of the purest silver.

Not being tempted to dwell on other objects, we can now in imagination fully realise our position before the sanctuary of the great Basilica as it once stood. The choir, formed by its boundary of arches adorned with bas-reliefs and rich curtains, is immediately in front of us, and is raised one step above the level of the pavement, which throughout the whole church is laid down in

every variety of rich marble, and slopes gradually towards the entrance of the nave. The spot we suppose ourselves occupying is the place assigned to the penitents of another degree—the *Prostrati*, and within the choir are admitted the penitents called the *Consistentes*. The organ is some way behind us in the nave, at a certain distance from the choir. Such an instrument is not distinctly mentioned in connection with St. Peter's till the fifteenth century, under Calixtus III., though organs were certainly in use in churches so far back as the eleventh and twelfth centuries. About the middle of the choir, besides the *ambone* ascended from the sanctuary by the Deacon, as already mentioned, on the right of it is another, entered from the sanctuary by the Subdeacon when he reads the Epistle, and from the choir by the Minister who reads the Prophecies or Acts of the Martyrs. On the further side of the choir, and again beyond the twelve lofty pillars over the Confession through which it reveals itself, is the sanctuary, or place for the sacred Ministers assisting at the Mass, having the high altar in its centre. This altar was originally the only one in the Basilica, and was, along with all that surrounds it, the work, not of Popes, but of Constantine himself. This is the first stone altar that was ever raised in the whole world for Christian worship. Till Pope St. Silvester otherwise appointed it, altars had been always made of wood, and were portable, in order that they might be saved from desecration at the hands of unbelievers. This is the altar which St. Anacletus erected over the relics of the Prince of the Apostles, and bade Christian Bishops come annually to visit it. This is that altar before which the first Christian Emperor prostrated himself and besought the protection of the great Apostle, and prayed that he might be enabled to raise what may be called the undecaying Basilica of St. Peter's. For, as we say—"The King is dead; God save the King," so the ancient Basilica continued till the modern Basilica rose up into its place. Upon this altar Pontiff after Pontiff, and they alone of right, have offered up the Holy Sacrifice, with the cares of all the Faithful, and the needs and dangers of the Universal Church upon their hearts. At the foot of this altar they have laid down their earthly remains. Following in the footsteps of the great Roman Emperor, other great Emperors, and Kings, and Queens, and Princes of the blood, and hundreds of those great in name, or in power, or in intellect, or in heart—these have all come and sought the Apostle's help, and offered up to God the earthly tokens of all their greatness. No wonder! since in presence of it so many Emperors and Kings of greatest name have been crowned, or have begun to wield the sword blessed by its sacred contact. And round this altar millions have bent the knee, as round it circles the teaching and the graces of the Church; and round it lie the relics of hundreds of the Church's Saints, witnesses alike of her Sanctity, her Catholicity, her Unity, and her Apostolicity.

This venerable altar was turned towards the east, and was approached by eight steps from the level of the sanctuary. Behind, towards the west, was the Papal throne, and close in front of it on the east lay the opening into the Confession. Behind all these the apse circled round, raised like the altar, while, at each corner of it, small doorways conducted into a crypt below of the same size and shape. Its decorations it owed to Constantine, and they remained intact till near the end of the seventh century. After being then restored they lasted six other centuries, till they were again renewed in such a way that they were carried on to the sixteenth century, when Sixtus V. was Pope, by whose care exact copies of them were preserved. The painting on the higher or vaulted portion of the apse was full of symbolical meaning, and was divided into two compartments. In the middle of the higher compartment was our Blessed Lord clothed in purple, seated on a throne planted on a rock. His right hand was lifted up in the act of blessing, after the Greek form, and the left held a closed book. His head was surrounded by a nimbus, on which could be traced the form of a Cross. To the right of this were the two Greek letters, I.C., to the left the two, X.C. On either side stood the Apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul. They, too, had a glory round their heads, were clothed in a sort of flowing military cloak, and had one hand raised, as though in conversation with our Saviour. In the other hand, which rested on a sword, St. Paul held a scroll inscribed with the words—*Mihi vivere Christus est.* St. Peter held in his left hand, from which were suspended the mystic keys, a similar scroll, bearing the words—*Tu es Christus Filius Dei vivi.* Below the feet of our Lord gushed out two streams, that divided into the four great rivers—the Tigris, the Phison, the Gihon, and the Euphrates. Behind the four rivers two stags approached from opposite directions, both anxious to slake their thirst in the water. On the summit of the apse appeared a dove as in the act of flight, and beside it was a hand stretched from a bright cloud, and holding towards our Lord a crown, as though about to place it on His head. This mosaic was an important expression of the Catholic doctrine, indicated and declared in the Council of Nicæa. It gave utterance to the mystery of the Blessed Trinity, to the truth at once of the Divinity and of the Incarnation of our Lord, and to the fact of His death and resurrection to glory. For these figures were painted on a rich blue background that represented Heaven. Christ and His Apostles appeared there in glory; the book which He held in His hand was the Gospel of His Incarnation and life on earth. The four rivers may be well taken as having meant the sacred writings of the four Evangelists, and we have the authority of SS. Eucherius and Cyprian for this interpretation. The city and the stars, the purple of our Lord's robe, and the palm-branches near him, all spoke of the glory above, while the stags signified the generations of men coming from all parts to drink of the Water of Life.

Immediately below these began the second compartment, which evidently represented the Church militant. Towards the centre was placed a throne ornamented with gems, and within it on a cushion rested a Cross, also jewelled. Beneath the Cross a Lamb, crowned with a diadem, stood upon a mount, and from his breast poured forth a stream of water and flowed into a chalice, whence, overflowing to the ground, it mingled with four other streams at the feet of the lamb. To the left was the figure of a Pontiff with hands joined, and with eyes and countenance directed towards the Cross and the lamb, as one especially appointed to offer up prayer in behalf of all Christian people. This Pope was clothed in a cope of dark brown colour and antique form, and bore on his brow a mitre encircled by a single diadem. On the Pallium which he wore was inscribed the name Innocentius III. Pont. Max. On the other side a female figure, robed to the feet, with flowing sleeves and the patriarchal mazzetta over her shoulders, and a cap crowned with a ducal coronet on her head, represented the Church. For she upheld with her right hand a long spear shaft, surmounted with a Cross and supporting a standard with the keys of the Apostle as its device, and her left held open before her breast a book, on which could be read the words—*Ecclesia Romana*. Behind these figures two large palm trees stood out from a backing of tender wood, sheltering within their branches a bird in shape like a dove, and on the outer side of these were two cities, the one on the right typifying Jerusalem, that on the left signifying Bethlehem, from the gate of which twelve sheep were issuing, and were taking the direction of the streams of water and the lamb. The allegorical meaning of this part of the mosaic was self-evident. The Lamb with the Cross indicated the Passion of Jesus Christ, the stream from His side was the stream of infinite grace flowing from His death. The twelve sheep with stained fleece represented the tribes of Israel, or the Apostles themselves clothed with human infirmity, and contrasted with the pure bright wool of the innocent Lamb. Bethlehem and Jerusalem were the scenes of the birth and of the death of our Lord, and the palm-trees sheltering the dove with an olive-branch in its mouth were types of that land of Judah, wherein came peace on earth from Heaven to men of goodwill.* Beneath this elaborate picture was drawn round in semi-circle the presbytery containing seats for the Cardinals, Bishops, Prelates, and those who assisted at the Papal ceremonies, and these seats converged towards the centre of the apsidal wall, where the Papal throne was placed, having the back panelled with a marble slab, on which was this inscription preserved by Gruter—

Justitiae sedes, fidei domus, aula pudoris,
Hoc est quam cernis, pietas quam possidet omnis,
Qua Patris et Filii virtutibus inclita gaudet,
Auctoremque suum Genitoris laudibus aequat.

* Filippo M. Mignanti, *Istoria della Basil. Vat.*, vol. i., cap. 16. Aless. D'Achille, *I Sepolcri Dei Rom. Pont.*, sec. xiii., p. 14.

Having passed over nothing of especial interest within the Basilica, we turn finally to the centre of all this wealth and art—the Confession of St. Peter. There was no mistaking it, for the pillars supporting its canopy stood in the midst of all, behind the choir and in front of the high altar, the marble columns and silver ornaments of which it almost outrivalled. In front of these rose its twelve twisted pillars in two parallel lines, at ten palms distance from each other, supporting a massive architrave covered with silver, along the outer edge of which were statues in silver-gilt of the most Blessed Saviour, of the Blessed Virgin, of the twelve Apostles, and of many other Saints. At certain distances, too, were fixed a number of lamps of massive gold and silver, and of varied design, along with other ornaments of the same precious metal, and the pillars beneath were connected by a balustrade of porphyry breast high. Three gates admitted to the Confession, and were placed at each extremity and in the centre. The central gate, however, was used only on the greater Feasts, or for the admission of Kings and Princes, the two others remained open for the use of all. The framework of these gates was at first of iron, St. Leo IV. changed it for silver of great weight, and Adrian I. covered the gates with plates of gold. They were ornamented with pillars of beaten silver, supporting arches of the same, and within the vestibule to which they admitted appeared a stair leading to the Confession, and having on the inner side a bar or balustrade of solid silver. Descending twenty steps you reached another door, locked and barred, resplendent again with gold-work, and ornamented with statues in the like precious metal, of our Lord, of the Blessed Virgin, and of the Apostles, all being the gift of Adrian I. The keys and bars of this door were of gold, and it was guarded day and night by officials first appointed by St. Sylvester himself. The chamber into which this door entered was as large as the whole sanctuary above, and often, on the great Feasts, it received the Pope and Canons and the various attendants on the Papal functions. Nay, within this space were held Councils at which fully eighty-three Bishops were present, and on one occasion the *cortège* both of Adrian and of Charlemagne found room within it. This cubicle was vaulted, and its roof lined with plates of gold. Immediately beneath the high altar of the Basilica and turned like it to the east, stood an altar ornamented by four columns of twisted form, and in shape rounded like an inverted chest. This altar was, as we described in the beginning, entirely open above, being the altar of the Confession, and within this opening was the lower aperture, called the umbilicus. Both of these were surrounded with railings, first of silver and afterwards of gold. Far down beneath was to be seen through the umbilicus another chamber, within which faintly gleamed the bronze sarcophagus guarding within it the silver urn containing the remains of the Apostle. The aperture in the top of the altar was closed in by a rail of gold-work, and we are told

that St. Gregory of Tours begged that this might be removed when he prayed at the sepulchre of the Apostle, in order that he might advance as near as possible and extend his body over the orifice. The chamber beneath, being wholly removed from the light, was lit up by a large number of very rich and precious lamps, of which the Basilica received frequent gifts.

In front of this altar, and in this dark and sunken shrine, took place many very important acts. Charlemagne, after placing a copy of his solemn donation to the Church on the high altar of the Basilica, with his own hands placed a copy of the same on this altar also. On it, Pope Constantine laid the doubtful and equivocal profession of faith made by Felix, Archbishop of Ravenna, and in a few days found him prostrate before it as one wholly crushed. Near to it were preserved the professions of faith of so many Eastern and Western Emperors, as well as of Patriarchs, Archbishops, and Bishops of the Catholic world—nay of the Pope himself, declared on the day of his coronation. Beside it too was laid and preserved the Creed of St. Athanasius, incorporated into the Offices of the Church. Since so much care and sumptuousness were lavished on the shrine itself, we cannot wonder that the chamber containing it should have shared in this richness. In fact, in proportion as gold is more valuable than marble, so the decorations of the first shrine excelled in magnificence those of the modern Basilica. At the end of the sixteenth century, when laying the foundations for the pavement of the new church, the workmen came in contact with the lower chamber of the bronze sarcophagus. On being apprised of it, Clement VIII. hastened immediately along with the Cardinals Antonianus, S. Cecilia, and Bellarmine, and by the light of a torch examined closely each object, after which His Holiness gave directions that the cubicule should be entirely closed in by a solid wall, which was at once done. A considerable time before this, in the beginning of the thirteenth century, probably on account of troublous times and through fear also of spoliation, Innocent III. caused the upper chamber of the Confession, as well as the lower one, to be enclosed, and all made level with the pavement of the Basilica. But in order that the memory of the Confession might be retained, he constructed before the high altar a little oratory, with a small aperture beneath it filled in with a slab of brass surmounted by a Cross.

Our space is exhausted, and we must leave some few of the glories of the ancient Basilica to be mentioned when we come to treat of the present Church of St. Peter.

Our Library Table.

1. It would be quite impossible to give our readers within any fair amount of space, any account of half the number of publications of all heads relating to the coming General Council. The world as well as the Church is now full of the subject. Some of our foreign contemporaries are almost too copious upon it, for it has happened now and then that their "Chronicles" of the Council have not contained any very important information. The real work which is going on in preparation for the Council is not done in public; and although very much may be reasonably conjectured as to the subjects which are likely to be discussed, there has sometimes been a little too much dogmatism on the matter. Catholics believe that the Council will act under the guidance of the Holy Ghost. That is sufficient to make them ready to accept its decisions with docility: it is also enough to make them very shy of predicting what those decisions are to be.

The most valuable of the works that have appeared regarding the Council are therefore naturally those which set before the world the true character and power of Councils in general, and which dissipate the prejudices and misconceptions in their regard which are at present prevalent. It might be invidious to point to one rather than another out of the several works of this character as pre-eminently useful: and, as the authors are in many cases Bishops, we, at least, are as little disposed to patronise them as to find fault with them. Catholic critics should never presume to do the former, and only the greatest reasons can induce them to do the latter. We may, however, say, that the Pastoral Instruction of the Bishop of Nimes (*Les Conciles Généraux*. Paris: V. Palmé. 1869) is a manual on the subject which conveys the best authentic information in a very small compass. It is divided into two parts. The first of these deal with past Councils, and recounts, in four successive chapters, the benefits which Councils have conferred on the Church in matters of dogma, morality, as to the interests of political and social life, and general civilisation. The last chapter of this part is occupied with the proceedings of Councils, the relations between them and the Popes, and Princes, and other topics. The second part of the work is given to the consideration of the future Council. Monseigneur Plantier regards it as intended to meet the great evil of the society of the present day, "the universal rupture on the part of nations and those who govern them, with the public and social royalty of Jesus Christ." He does due homage to the marvellous courage of the Pontiff, who, under the circumstances which at present surround him, has ventured to call around him the

Catholic Bishops from all parts of the world for the salvation of society. Chapters follow on the members of the Council; on those who have *not* been invited (as the Princes); and on the results which may be expected. He takes the programme of the Council as it has been sketched by the Pope himself in the Bull of Convocation, and speaks briefly of the consequences to be expected from it as to modern scepticism and ecclesiastical discipline. He answers shortly the arguments suggested by those writers who would warn the Council against any condemnation of the (so called) Gallican Articles of 1682; or again, of certain modern ideas which are said to belong solely to the domain of politics. The five consequences which the Bishop of Nimes anticipates from the Council are worth mentioning. The Council, he says, will hold forth a torch of truth as to the principles and rules of human life. It will, in the next place, show the intimate union of heart and identity of views between the Holy See on the one hand, and the immense majority of the Episcopate on the other. Thirdly, it will show the respect of the Holy See for the prerogative of Bishops. Fourthly, it will have effect of disengaging particular Churches from a sort of nationality which may have lamentable results. Now that everywhere the Church is treated as a stranger or any enemy by the State, she will become less individual and local in her character in each country, and the meeting of Bishops from all parts of the world will hasten this result. Lastly, modern errors will receive a serious blow, from which they will hardly recover.

2. The pamphlet of Monseigneur Deschamps, Archbishop of Mâmes, (*L'Infallibilité et le Concile Générale*) does not cover quite so much ground as the Pastoral Instruction of the Bishop of Nimes. It is addressed to men of the world, and is quite popular in character. Its main subject is Infallibility; and when we say that the eminent writer has received a special Brief of thanks from the Sovereign Pontiff, we have said enough to show how highly it would have to be praised if its authorship did not remove it from the ordinary sphere of respectful Catholic criticism. Monseigneur Deschamps tells us at the outset that while the world at large is engaged in speculating on what may be the dogmatic decisions of the approaching Council, the Bishops who are to form its members are mainly occupied, by way of preparation, with the study of disciplinary questions. This statement is in accordance with others made on equally good authority, and it may give some hint as to what will be, at all events, the main subject of discussion at Rome. The Archbishop also, however, speaks very plainly as to the possible condemnation by the Council of the Gallican Articles of 1682. He considers that the opinion there expressed as to the relative position of Popes and Councils has *only* been tolerated since the period of the Declaration for reasons which no longer exist, and that it may be necessary for the Vatican Council, which is the first to meet since that time, openly to condemn the

doctrine, as not to do so might seem to involve a sort of sanction to it. He also answers the objections which seem to lie against the definition of the Infallibility of the Pope on the part of the Council. His language throughout is clear, moderate, and precise ; and although there are some parts of the pamphlet which are perhaps more fitted for Belgium than for England, it appears to us a great pity that no one should yet have thought of translating it for general use among ourselves.

3. We have elsewhere referred to another work on the same subject with the two preceding volumes, *The Pope and the Council*, by Janus (Rivingtons), and we intended further to have noticed it here. By a postal accident, the review which had been prepared for our readers has been lost in transmission to the printer, and we must therefore defer our remarks on it till our next issue. Meanwhile we shall only justify the doubts expressed elsewhere as to its authorship. We cannot believe, until it is clearly so proved, that the distinguished Catholic historian to whom it has been freely attributed is responsible for this very violent and extravagant book. He has written many things which have pained his Catholic brethren, but, if this book is his, he must be preparing to break with the Church altogether. Again, his writings are more than once criticised with severity in its pages ; unless this is a mere *ruse*, he would be attacking himself. Moreover, the learning, so to call it, of the book, is unworthy of him. He would at least know how to quote St. Thomas rightly ; he would not have confused Charles IX. of France with the Emperor Charles V., and so made the latter the rival of his own son ; he would not have been so unfair as to build an important argument on the oath which Catholic Bishops take to the Holy See, and omit the single fact which crushes that argument altogether—namely, that the Bishops, in the oath itself, expressly reserve the rights of their order. We think also, that he would have known better than to say that according to the Syllabus, “it is a wicked error to admit Protestants to equal political rights with Catholics, or to allow Protestant immigrants the free use of their worship.” All these things, and a hundred others, seem to us to point to some much less distinguished scribe as the author of the present volume.

4. The author of *Flemish Interiors, Gheel, and The Feudal Castles of France*, has published a book of travels called *Pictures of Hungarian Life* (William Ridgway. London). These pictures of life and scenery, accompanied by jottings of history, are pleasingly written, and present the people before us in a very light and amiable character, though they do not penetrate at all below the surface of things. The subject is an interesting one, and the prominence given of late years to the history of State affairs in Hungary would have rewarded a more serious and elaborate treatment, giving us the state of public feeling, and bringing out in stronger relief different

points in the national character. Still, any one who wishes to learn a little of the country and its people will find the book before us very chatty and descriptive. The most pleasing trait in persons of every class whom the writer encountered in his travels, and which may be called indeed a national virtue, was their characteristic warmth of welcome and an open-handed hospitality.

We are inclined to think that the urbanity described was in some cases carried rather to excess. It frequently manifested itself in a somewhat gushing and uncalled for disclosure of family secrets and personal histories, and we are afraid that it was not a little allied to a spirit of inquisitiveness and love of gossip. We are not quite sure that the writer has escaped scot-free from a little of the infection. In their whole deportment, and in all the relations of every-day life, the habits of the Hungarians, whether of townspeople or peasantry, are directly opposed to English customs. The lower orders at home are very little inclined to accost you, in street or on country road, as "Your Graciousness;" nor are they wont to declare to you at every moment that they "kiss your hands;" and, we are happy to say, still less do they think of suiting the action to the word. In their welcome to travellers they are as free-hearted and unceremonious as we are the reverse. And that which greatly enhances their courtesy is, that it seems both genuine and thorough: there is no mistaking it for mere external civility. But the Hungarian is as generous and considerate towards his fellow-countrymen and his neighbour as towards the stranger, and this too in matters of religion. Even a moderately bigoted Protestant would be scandalised to hear of Catholics and different Protestant bodies leading together a kind and neighbourly life. And yet for the Catholic this harmony has this drawback, that it leads too often to religious apathy and indifference. The state of universal and demonstrative benevolence, which led a Protestant apothecary to show the deepest respect for the mere handwriting of Cardinal Wiseman and to carry it to his lips, would certainly not find its counterpart in Protestant England. The very marked and widespread respect manifested throughout the country for the name of the late Cardinal is most striking. The description of the newly-appointed Primate of Hungary introduces him thoroughly to us, and fills us with a deep respect for his person and character. Equally worthy of being recorded are the virtues of the good Bishop of Waitzen. The descriptions of Pesth and of Buda follow close upon each other, as though if one city, so contiguous are they to one another; and striking is the contrast between the modern splendour of the one and the antique grandeur of the other. The Rakosfeld, in the immediate neighbourhood of Pesth, where the Diet of the Magyars was wont to be held, has shared the fate of our own Runnymede, and became the scene of horseraces. In the present comparatively modern palace of Buda are kept the venerated regalia of Hungary; and as the rock-founded edifice itself, though so strongly and so splendidly situated, has been time after time shattered by the

assaults of war, so the ensigns of royalty preserved within it have suffered the constant vicissitude of captive and recovery. Still more significant is the injury to the cross on the summit of the crown, twelve volumes of explanation to account for its being bent to one side having been written in vain. Several interesting facts are told us of the much-renowned gipsies of Hungary; some of whom are musicians and others tinkers, charcoal-burners, smiths, or farriers, and who all camp about in true gipsy fashion. But the funniest "picture" in the book is the incident of the visit to the Monastery of Tihany. We could have understood the Religious of a convent of Nuns receiving some lady visitors with great cordiality, or a passing act of kindness and hospitality done by a genial hearted Monk even to ladies; but the scene here described, from its commencement within the rooms of my Lord Abbot to its next stage, when Abbot and Prior tucked each a lady of the party under his arm and led her off to dinner, and to its conclusion with the Mass said by the Prior in Hungarian boots and a costume that provoked a smile; and the distant view of the Reverend Abbot himself, in full Religious habit, springing into an open barouche, and being whisked away behind four horses and a driver in blue braided livery coat, with flying ribbons in his hat, and flourishing a long whip in his hand, appears to us ludicrous in the extreme. But the book is written in a gay sparkling strain, and it describes a very simple and unsophisticated country; and this description, as well as some of the legends with which it is freely interspersed, must, we suppose, be taken in a good humoured way.

5. The age can boast of a few, a very few real novelists, but it is exceedingly prolific in novel writers, and its stock in trade of actual novels written is simply inexhaustible. Were the novel writers of the present day as fertile in the true genius of representation as a Gustave Doré, monthly novels from the same brain would be more endurable. As it is, there is neither mind nor heart in most novels of the day, and they are dashed off by the writers as rapidly as, we may presume, they are dashed through by the reader. To be able to write really a good novel is a gift granted only to the few; to undertake to write a novel at all is a considerable undertaking. *Noel d'Auvergne*, by Samuel Richardson, B.A. (Washbourne, Paternoster Row), is evidently the first effort of its author, the scene of the tale is laid chiefly in Ireland, and is a description of Irish society. One of the most prominent characters is Madeleine Leyne, whose mistakes and misfortunes form the centre of the picture; but the real heroine, the light of whose virtues and ultimate happiness intensifies by contrast the dark shadow of Madeleine's fortunes, is Mary Leyne, her sister. The hero of the story is Noel d'Auvergne, of French extraction, and first introduced as studying for the bar at Trinity College, Dublin. The villain of the tale is the Hon. O'Mally Oranmore, younger brother of Lord Summervale, and he works hard throughout to justify his claim

to that title, till repentance, worldly position, and death all came upon him with surprising suddenness to close in his career. Both sisters have fallen in love with D'Auvergne, but the dark and imperious Madeleine is the object of his choice, and Mary Leyne has to love on in secret, though with calm and heroic resignation. A most unusual, but in this case irremediable obstacle to the smooth course of love, is the discovery by Madeleine of her lover, nay of her accepted and betrothed, lying senseless after dinner on the floor of the dining-room. The natural inference is that he lies in a state of helpless intoxication, but without explanation either sought or given an alliance with him is now rejected with scorn. Upon this follows triumph to O'Mally Oranmore, who woos, and is accepted by Madeleine, without her being able to love him, and without his having love for anything except her money. But he has been married before, and his Spanish wife hearing of his intended step, sets out to assert the rights of herself and her infant boy. She is accidentally met and is accompanied by the present Lady Summervale, the discovery of whose infidelity to her husband and consequent banishment from her house Oranmore had brought about. The mother and her child are swept from the vessel's deck, only, however, to reappear before the end of the book. But Lady Summervale meets her brother-in-law, and confronts him with a copy of his marriage lines, and with an accusation of having attempted to murder his true wife. To get her out of his way she is murdered, and her body is gradually and horribly mutilated by a process minutely detailed. Madeleine loses all her money, and this charm having vanished, the lover and the beloved agree to a mutual good riddance. Notwithstanding which release the lady pines away and dies. Oranmore goes out to America, joins the army, rises to be General in the Federal ranks, finds out that he is lodging in the house of his wife, whom he supposed to have been drowned, is reconciled to her and dies. Meanwhile Mary Leyne has been a governess, and afterwards a celebrated actress. This life she abandons in order to be wedded to the object of her early love—the hero of the tale, Noel d'Auvergne. Such is the history of the leading characters of a novel which is full of incident, but describes persons chiefly by their external actions, and in which there is not sufficient working up of the crude materials. The chief events are startling rather than sensational, which they are intended to be, and are, we must confess, not always perfectly probable. Mr. Richardson shows promise, and, if there were not so many better things in the world to be done than novel writing, might doubtless very much improve upon his first attempt if he were to give his time to fiction.

6. The classical and graceful writing of the late Earl of Carnarvon, and our recollection of the interest excited by his former work on *Portugal and Galicia*, have combined to lead us to notice a volume of extracts from a journey in Greece and Turkey in 1839, published by his son, the present Earl, under the title of *Reminiscences of Athens*

and the Morea (John Murray, Albermarle Street). These extracts touch on political events in Greece, on very beautiful descriptions of scenery, and on a very lucid and skilful portraiture of the habits and national spirit of the different races. The genius, or rather, the waywardness, of the people, and of the men in power among them, bears much the stamp of the mingled wildness, beauty, and interest of their native scenery, studded with the ruins of past greatness and past violence. There is a poetry and a pathos about the very name of Greece that cannot but interest us much still in the fate of the country. But yet she has long departed from her former glory, and we can draw no good augury for her future from the conviction that whatever gleam of hope remained for a prosperous issue to Otho's reign has not only passed away, but has given place to yet darker prospects in the confirmed disappointments of the present reign. Greece must be ranked amongst those hapless countries, for which no one seems to know, or at least acknowledge and act upon, what is best to be done. And how much of personal selfishness and of mutual jealousies lies at the root of all this misgovernment? From having been once at the head of all refinement and cultivation, the country has fallen lamentably behind the world. The pictures drawn by the late Lord Carnarvon so comparatively recently of the wild and eccentric life of the peasantry, tempt us to imagine he has taken us back into the rudest and most violent of mediæval times. And though Mr. Clark's authority is quoted in the preface for the assertion that even in 1858 "the security for life and property," we now know for certain that not the wildest tale of risk to life or audacity of assault in the past, can come up to the boldness and violence of brigandage in Greece at the present moment. The remarks made by the late Earl on the Greek Church are very straightforward and significant. He attributes the little influence of the Clergy on the people to the "stationary and unelastic character of the Greek Church," and he says, a few lines further on, "such as the Greek Church became on the extinction of Paganism, such, or nearly such, she seems to be now. Her missionary work has been narrow, her moral influence and control at home small, and the principle of an ever-expanding and all-absorbing vitality has been wanting." The late Lord Carnarvon's tastes, as well as his style of writing, especially fitted him to enter into and to portray the poetic grace and beauty of both people and scenery, and his son has done well to secure a wider range for those chapters which he had at first only intended to circulate amongst a few private friends.

7. We have no doubt that if Dr. Pusey should come across the little work of Père Jeanjacquot, of the Society of Jesus, a translation of which has just been published by Mr. Philp (*Simple Explanations concerning the Cooperation of the Most Holy Virgin in the Work of Redemption*), it will appear to him scarcely less startling than the work of Grignon de Montfort against which he has spoken so strongly. It opens out, in fact, a line of thought and contemplation

which must always remain sealed to those who do not or will not understand that devotion to our Blessed Lady and the highest possible esteem of her dignity in the Economy of the Incarnation are the natural fruits and the appointed safeguards of a true faith as to that great mystery. It is very seldom that we take upon ourselves earnestly and directly to recommend a particular book to the devout reader, but at the present time there is so much need of *intelligent* devotion in regard to our Blessed Lady, and so few books calculated to feed it, so that we find here and there even well-informed Catholics inclined to underrate because they do not understand her dignity, her intellectual and spiritual gifts, her powers, and her intimate relation to ourselves, that we cannot help breaking through our rule, and urging all thoughtful Catholics to make a real study of this little volume.

8. *A Commentary on the Song of Songs*, by Richard J. Littledale (Masters, Aldersgate Street), is a carefully-selected and neatly-arranged compilation of devotional thoughts taken from the writings of leading Catholic commentators on the Canticle of Solomon. It presents a pleasing mosaic-work of selections from their most beautiful thoughts and language, and fairly brings out Catholic doctrine. The commentary is preceded by a long introduction written by the compiler, treating more especially on the Canonicity and authorship of this inspired book, on the methods of its interpretation, and on its spiritual meaning.

9. We must find space for a simple acknowledgment of some publications which we would gladly notice at greater length. Such is a translation of Lacordaire's celebrated *Conferences on our Lord (Jesus Christ—Conferences)*. By the Rev. Père Lacordaire. Washbourne). Such are Dr. Redmond's *Eight Sermon Essays*, chiefly delivered in the Chapel of St. Edmund's College (Washbourne). Such are Mr. Andrew's *Reasons for leaving the Church of England* (Philp) and Mr. Husband's *Hymns for Catholics* (Palmer), a little volume published before the author's reception into the Church, with a page containing a protest against the enforced omission of a hymn on our Blessed Lady; and a very handsomely printed translation of Père Nampon's *Catholic Doctrine as defined by the Council of Trent*, published at Philadelphia by Mr. Cunningham. We have also to acknowledge the third volume of Mr. Finlason's excellent edition of *Reeve's History of English Law* (Reeves and Turner), and a new issue of *Keenan's Controversial Catechism* (Catholic Publishing Company).

Oxford Studies and Dr. Gillow.

It is with much reluctance that we are obliged again to revert to the subject of certain mistakes which we lately had to point out as to Oxford studies and the condition of Oxford, in a letter which was addressed to the *Dublin Review* of last April, and afterwards republished, without alteration, as a pamphlet, by Dr. Gillow (MONTH for July, 1869, pp. 18, 19, and 100-107). These remarks have given umbrage to Dr. Gillow, who has noticed them in a letter printed at the end of the current number of the *Dublin Review*. Of the tone of that letter we need say nothing, nor of the insinuations which it contains. We must, however, begin by assuring Dr. Gillow that we have never, as he states, cast the slightest imputation on his honour or veracity. We have remarked that he has misquoted, and, as we think, misunderstood, Mr. Pattison, but we do not consider that this necessarily implies bad faith, nor should we allow ourselves or others to make in these pages a charge to that effect against a Catholic writer. Moreover, we were perfectly aware that Dr. Gillow quoted at second hand, and we must add that we very gravely suspected that he knew no more, either of Mr. Pattison's book or of certain articles in the MONTH attacked in his letter of April, than what he had read in the pages of the *Dublin Review*. But on these topics we were most anxious not to enter, and we dealt with him, in consequence, as we had a perfect right to do, as entirely responsible for the statements which he made. This, we think, he cannot complain of. We point this out only because he appears to us now to see some special animosity against himself in the fact that we disclaimed reference to any one else, having abstained from reading the article in the *Dublin* from which he took his quotations.* Our readers are aware that we have before this had occasion to complain of a practice quite unusual, as we believe, among literary periodicals, but often followed by the *Dublin Review*—almost alone among such periodicals; we mean the practice of noticing in one review articles which have appeared in others. We have of late been obliged to enter into controversy in consequence of attacks thus made on us, beginning more than a year ago, and we are determined, as far as possible, not to encourage the system by our own example. Abstinence from this practice on the part of the *Dublin Review* would have saved and would save Catholics a great deal of troublesome discussion. Our regard for this principle, and our love of peace, must explain to Dr. Gillow why we made him

* Dr. Gillow (p. 326) says something about *ignorantia affectata*, and even seems to question our statement when we say that we have not read the article. We are not in the habit of making false statements, of being accused of doing so, or of accusing others of falsehood. We referred to the article in question simply because certain quotations made by Dr. Gillow from Mr. Pattison, of which we desired to see the context, could not be verified without it. He refers to the page in the *Dublin*, not to the page in Mr. Pattison's book. On the two or three occasions, therefore, when we had occasion to verify his quotations, we were obliged to look for the reference in the article. That is the whole history of the matter.

alone responsible, as far as our remarks were concerned, for statements as to which he undoubtedly assumed full responsibility. When we saw that the *Dublin Review* had an article on Oxford, we knew that we might not be able to accept its version of facts, and as we might have to write on the subject ourselves, we deliberately abstained from reading the article. Dr. Gillow is too much of an Englishman not to stand up for assertions he has made his own, and if the *Dublin Review* has misled him, it is for that periodical, in all justice, to acknowledge it.

We shall now confine ourselves almost entirely to a simple justification and explanation of the charges which we were obliged to make against Dr. Gillow—charges which would not have been made had not the matter of which we were treating required that misrepresentations should not be left on the public mind. We might have said much more than we did, for Dr. Gillow's letter in April was in great measure an attack on us. He charged us with misleading the *Dublin Review* into a certain statement about the want of all higher education for Catholics. A more preposterous charge was never made. It has since been confessed in the *Dublin Review* itself that the writer of the article to which Dr. Gillow referred had never heard of the connection of the Catholic Colleges with the London University. We had drawn the attention of the editor to Dr. Gillow's statement as to us, and it might in fairness have been added by him that, if his writer had read the article in the MONTH from which he quoted the passage which displeased Dr. Gillow, he could not possibly have remained in his ignorance, that article, as well as another, having reference to that very connection. Moreover, Dr. Gillow's letter, with its description of the life of residents at Oxford, appeared to us not only to have been written under a false impression that we had advocated *residence* at Oxford for Catholic students, but also to be likely to propagate that false impression. Both these points must have been brought to Dr. Gillow's notice in the correspondence which preceded the publication of his letter as a pamphlet, and yet on neither of them did he make the slightest acknowledgment.

We shall now state the impression produced on us by Dr. Gillow's letter as to his state of mind. We supposed, and there is nothing in Dr. Gillow's letter (in April) to contradict the supposition, that he was not aware of the existence of any other schools for Honours at Oxford except those of *Litteræ Humaniores*, and perhaps that of Mathematics.* Not only is there nothing in his letter to contradict this supposition, but there is much to confirm it, for he applies to them the general term "Honours Schools." Mr. Pattison having said that certain results follow from a passage through the schools of this department, Dr. Gillow applies his words to a passage through the Honours Schools in general. It was our own purpose to point out the fact that

* Such ignorance, we may add, is not uncommon, even among Catholics formerly acquainted with Oxford, and it is not so surprising in Dr. Gillow as the ignorance of the Dublin Reviewer about London. The new schools to which we refer have been added since the date of most of the earlier conversions. We believe we are not wrong in supposing that the writer in the *Dublin*, who, a year ago charged us with having proposed something that was equivalent to the sending Catholics to be examined in theology in a Calvinist University by Calvinist examiners, was as ignorant of the existence of these new schools as we supposed Dr. Gillow to be. This charge against us was at the best, reckless and premature, because we had only suggested the possibility of Oxford examinations for (non-resident) Catholics in a few lines in the course of articles devoted

this school alone was supposed to be fraught with danger, on account of the philosophy required for it. Mr. Pattison had distinctly said that *danger was not supposed to lurk* in the curriculum of the other Honours Schools, and Dr. Gillow, in quoting the passage, deliberately omitted the words in which this exclusion was conveyed. Nay more, he also *added* other words which confirmed the false impression produced by his omission. Mr. Pattison had said, "This" school "the party must either conquer, or be content to see" certain bad results; and Dr. Gillow had quoted him, "This party must either conquer (by excluding this philosophy *from the course of teaching*)."
These words certainly seem to us to confirm the impression that no part of the course of teaching in any school open as a means of obtaining the degree was free from the danger which Mr. Pattison expressly confined to one school.

Dr. Gillow now answers by acknowledging the omission; but he says that we ought not to have misunderstood him, "seeing," to use his own words, "that I nowhere allude to any other than the School of Arts, that my argument in all that part of the letter is exclusively engaged with the honour curriculum of that school, that I had specified that school a few lines above, and that I had done the same explicitly in two places on the previous page" (*Dublin Review*, p. 320). Again he says that he had made a "limitation" of his statement by inserting the words *Literæ Humaniores* where Mr. Pattison had not put them. Now it is precisely because Dr. Gillow nowhere mentions the existence of the other schools in an article on the general subject of the Oxford curriculum; it is precisely because he nowhere even "alludes to them," that his omission is a grave misrepresentation of Mr. Pattison's account of the Oxford schools in general, and of the facts of the case. We must object to the word "limitation." Unless other schools were mentioned, unless Dr. Gillow's readers were allowed to know that others existed *not* fraught with the same dangers as to philosophy, through which those who seek University Honours may pass without touching "philosophy" at all in their examinations, Dr. Gillow's mention of the *Literæ Humaniores* was a specification of the character of the school, but not quite a "limitation." A limitation implies a distinction, and Dr. Gillow never hinted at anything at Oxford distinct from the *Literæ Humaniores*. He was either aware of the existence of the other schools, or he was not. If he was not, he might very well have passed Mr. Pattison's words over as speaking of what he did not understand, and what was not to his purpose. It is always a dangerous, and it is a very unusual course, to alter a quotation, and Dr. Gillow's readers would certainly not expect it of him. He might have done it, as we thought, in perfect good faith—but he misrepresented Mr. Pattison all the same.

Moreover, he did something more than this. His letter was partly

to other subjects, and it might have been supposed that if we had developed our plan we should not propose to take Catholics from the examinations at London only to subject them at Oxford to those same dangers of which we had spoken so strongly. The charge was afterwards withdrawn only to be renewed—that is, it was acknowledged that we did not mean what was imputed to us, but it was asserted that our words signified it. Now, we should be glad to know from the writer of whom we are speaking, whether or not, when he made that second charge, he was aware that Oxford honours, unlike those of London, can be gained in three schools without philosophy? If he was not, his own ignorance, and not our language, was the ground of his charge, and it would only be fair to say so. We hope to see him acknowledge this.

an attack on us for having incidentally suggested, in articles on the evils resulting from the connection of Catholic Colleges with the London University—though as to this object of ours he was silent—that it might be possible, under altered circumstances, to obtain degrees for Catholics at Oxford or Cambridge on better terms than at London. Dr. Gillow's letter speaks generally of the education of Oxford, of the studies necessary for a degree there, and so on, and compares them unfavourably with the London course and the London degrees. If he was aware that there were three schools at Oxford where B.A. honours might be obtained without the slightest danger of the great evil, which he deplores almost as much as ourselves, of the examination of Catholics in philosophy by Protestant examiners, why did he not let his readers know of this signal and undeniable advantage of Oxford over London? Why did he, by the omission of Mr. Pattison's words about the three other schools in which danger was not supposed to lurk, deprive his readers of that one passage in all his letter which would have put it in their power to understand the preference which the MONTH had incidentally expressed for the connection of Catholics with the elder Universities? We must confess that we are still unwilling to think that Dr. Gillow can consciously have been guilty of so unfair a reticence. We observe that he does not, in his present article, anywhere, as far as we know, say in plain terms that he knew of the existence of these new schools referred to by Mr. Pattison. If he did, he certainly took good care that his readers should not.*

The remaining charges with which Dr. Gillow finds fault will be found by any one who takes the trouble to consult Mr. Pattison's book to be true to the letter and to the spirit also. When Mr. Pattison speaks of those who pass through the school of *Litterae Humaniores* being hopelessly lost to a certain party, Dr. Gillow erroneously represents him as speaking of the Honour Schools in general, and not of one only, and of Catholics as well as of Tractarians. This is exactly what we said, and what we now repeat. Dr. Gillow tries to answer this by producing another passage in which Mr. Pattison represents Catholics as justly uneasy at the state of the schools of Oxford; but our correction applies to the particular passage misrepresented by Dr. Gillow. We here, however, plead guilty to overgreat brevity. It would have required some sentences to explain why Mr. Pattison ought not to be received as a sound authority as to the dangers to Catholics of the Oxford philosophical schools—if, of course, such Catholics are fortified by a true system of philosophy, as Dr. Gillow's own pupils are who go to the London examinations. Mr. Pattison, in short, does not think there *can* be any Catholic philosophy—as Dr. Gillow will see if he reads his book. Dr. Gillow does *not* believe that Catholics (well prepared) who undergo an examination in philosophy before Protestant examiners are sure to be “hopelessly lost” to the Church. The case of Tractarians

* We are quite unable to understand what Dr. Gillow means in p. 520, where, referring to some words of ours, he says he is represented as imagining “that honours could be gained in three other schools, provided the candidate first sought honours in the School of Arts.” We said in the plainest words that he did “not seem to be aware that it is possible and necessary to pass in Arts and to take the B.A. honours in three other schools.” We said he did not seem to know what he understands us as saying that he imagined! More over, to *pass* in Arts is *not* to take honours. We have since learnt that it is not even necessary to *pass* in Arts (if certain honours have been obtained at Moderations), in order to gain honours in the other schools.

is entirely different. Then again, Dr. Gillow finds fault with us for changing a statement he had made about the "mere graduate" into "all mere graduates." We can see but little difference, in this case, between the general and the universal statement. Does Dr. Gillow mean that he meant only "some mere graduates?" Lastly, we must repeat with emphasis the statement that to make Mr. Pattison say that "the mere graduate"—that is, we suppose, mere graduates in general—are probably either "barbarised athletes" or "foppish exquisites," is a clear and even ludicrous misrepresentation. We have already explained fully enough that Mr. Pattison uses these words of the "young aristocrats" of Christ Church, and a few others like them, not of Oxford graduates or undergraduates in general. Any one at all acquainted with Oxford will know the absurdity of the confusion. Mr. Pattison puts the "mere graduates" at seventy per cent. of the whole number of students, and considers them as incapable, from their previous want of training, of a real University education. Elsewhere, speaking of the "young aristocrats" of Christ Church, and of a few others, he uses the language about "barbarised athletes" and "foppish exquisites." These "aristocrats" form only a (large) part even at Christ Church, and they are probably ten, or let us say twenty per cent., out of the seventy. To extend his epithets to "mere graduates" in general is exactly what it has been said to be by our correspondent—a strong, even athletic, fear of the imagination. No doubt the "athlete furor" affects others besides the "aristocrats"; it affects classmen as well as passmen, and, we may venture to say, it affects Catholic places of education as well as Protestant. But Mr. Pattison is speaking of the extreme instances of its influence. Dr. Gillow seems to think that he may take the strong expressions he finds quoted from different passages in Mr. Pattison's book, and combine them at will; and this with no more knowledge, as we fear, of the book than a number of quotations in a review article. We venture to affirm that no one will read the book through without, if he knows Oxford, agreeing with us as to the unfairness with which Mr. Pattison is treated, and also that if Dr. Gillow consults that gentleman, he will find his views on the subject at least as strong as ours.

We need hardly add that it is with sincere regret that we find ourselves obliged to meet such charges as have been brought against us by Dr. Gillow. We would much rather hear what he has to say as to the fact to which we have lately drawn attention, that the highest honours at Oxford and Cambridge might be open to Catholic students if residence was once got rid of, without the condition of servitude now imposed on them at London as to philosophy. One thing more he must allow us to say, namely, that if, as he appears disposed most groundlessly to insinuate, we wished to see Oxford in its present state crowded with Catholic students, resorting there against the wish of the authorities of the Church, we should also wish one other thing as a means to bring about that consummation. That other thing would be this—that Catholic writers should heap every kind of ignorant and exaggerated abuse upon the manners of Oxford residents, and deprecate in the most unfair possible way the value of the honours and degrees of that ancient University. For exaggerations always serve in the end the cause against which they are used, and when the charges made against a system or a place of education by opponents of standing are found out to be false, people are very likely to jump to the conclusion that nothing true can be said against them.

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LATEST FROM PARIS.—"There is one consolation for the lovers of the line of beauty—the discarded cashmere is coming in again. Long may cashmere reign!" The above item of intelligence, recently published in a contemporary, will be received with great joy by all who admire correct taste. The ingenuity of designers has been sorely taxed of late in producing fashionable novelties, and, after all, nothing equals the cashmere, with its brilliant but soft colours, and gracefully-flowing drapery. It may be safely averred that nothing adds so much to the grace and elegance of the female figure as a well-arranged cashmere shawl. Although for the moment the style of dress is not adapted for wearing a shawl in the ordinary way, it need not entirely be discarded. The idea of converting a shawl, without injury, into a useful and becoming shape, has been for some time the vogue in Paris, and has been much improved upon by Messrs. Farmer and Rogers, of Regent Street, who have arranged several of their splendid India shawls as models. Ladies may have their own cashemires transformed into the new shape at a moderate cost: or if they prefer an entirely new one, the present reasonable price of India shawls will be a great inducement to purchase. A novel patented shawl, called the Bangalore, a cashmere of beautiful design and colouring, is also available for this purpose, and can be obtained of the above firm in a variety of handsome patterns.—*Morning Post.*

Marlborough

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